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A

GENERAL HISTORY AND COLLECTION OF VOYAGES AND TRAVELS,

ARRANGED IN SYSTEMATIC ORDER:

FORMING A COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS
OF NAVIGATION, DISCOVERY, AND COMMERCE,
BY SEA AND LAND,
FROM THE EARLIEST AGES TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

ROBERT KERR, F. R. S. & F. A. S. EDIN.

ILLUSTRATED BY MAPS AND CHARTS.

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A

GENERAL HISTORY

AND

COLLECTION

OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

PART II. (CONTINUED.)

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY CIRCUMNAVIGATIONS, OR VOYAGES ROUND THE WORLD.

INTRODUCTION.

IN this *fourth* book of the *second* part of our arrangement, it is proposed to give a history of the principal Circumnavigations, or Voyages Round the World, previous to the reign of our present venerable sovereign. This book, therefore, comprises a period of 226 years, from the year 1519, when Magellan sailed from Spain on the first circumnavigation of the globe, till the year 1744, when Commodore Anson returned to England from a similar expedition. The more recent circumnavigations, which have taken place since the year 1760, chiefly under the munificent and enlightened patronage of GEORGE III. or in imitation of these, and which have largely contributed to extend, and almost to render perfect, the geography and hydrography of the terraqueous globe, are intended to form a separate division, in a subsequent part of our arrangement.

 The

The accurate knowledge which we now possess of the form and dimensions of this globe of earth and water which we inhabit, has been entirely owing to the superior skill of the moderns in the mathematical sciences, as applicable to the practice of navigation, and to the observation and calculation of the motions of the heavenly bodies, for the ascertainment of latitudes and longitudes. It would require more space than can be conveniently devoted on the present occasion, to give any clear view of the geographical knowledge possessed by the ancients, together with a history of the progress of that science, from the earliest times, neither do the nature and objects of the present Collection of Voyages and Travels call for any such deduction, of which an excellent epitome will be found in the History of Geography, prefixed to Playfair's System of Geography.

The ancients laboured under almost absolute incapacities for making extensive voyages or discoveries by sea, proceeding from ignorance of the form and dimensions of the earth, and other causes. They were but indifferently versed in the practical part of astronomy, without which, and those instruments which have been invented almost exclusively by the moderns, for measuring the paths, distances, and relative positions of the heavenly bodies, it is impossible to launch out with any tolerable success or safety on the trackless ocean. They were ignorant also of that wonderful property of the magnet or loadstone, which, pointing invariably towards the north, enables the modern mariner to know his precise course, at all times of the day or night, though clouds and thick mists may hide the luminaries of heaven from his observation, which were the only means of direction known to the ancients.

Various systems and theories appear to have prevailed among the ancients respecting the figure and motion of the earth; some justly enough supposing it to be a ball or sphere, suspended in infinite space, while others conceived it to be a flat surface, floating upon and surrounded by an interminable ocean. The just conceptions of some ancient philosophers, respecting the spherical figure of the earth, and its diurnal motion around its own axis, were superseded by others of a more popular nature, and forgotten for many ages. Lactantius and Augustine, two fathers of the catholic church, unfortunately adopted the idea of the earth being a flat surface, infinitely extending downwards; grounding this

false

false notion upon a mistaken interpretation of the holy scriptures, or rather seeking assistance from them in support of their own unphilosophical conceptions. So strongly had this false opinion taken possession of the minds of men, in our European world, even after the revival of learning in the west, that Galileo was imprisoned by the holy inquisitors at Rome for asserting the sphericity of the earth, and the doctrine of *antipodes*, and had to redeem his liberty and life, by writing a refutation of that heretical doctrine, which satisfied the inquisitors, yet convinced the world of its truth.

Columbus assuredly grounded his grand discovery of America upon the knowledge of the earth being a sphere; and had not the new western world intervened, his voyage had probably been the first circumnavigation. In modern times, an idea has been advanced that Columbus only retraced the steps of some former navigator, having seen certain parts of the grand division of the world which he discovered, already delineated on a globe. It were improper to enter upon a refutation of this idle calumny on the present occasion; yet it is easy to conceive, that the possessor of that globe, may have rudely added the reported discoveries of Columbus, to the more ancient delineations. At all events, Columbus was the first person who conceived the bold idea that it was practicable to sail round the globe. From the spherical figure of the earth, then universally believed by astronomers and cosmographers, in spite of the church, he inferred that the ancient hemisphere or continent then known, must of necessity be balanced by an equiponderant and opposite continent. And, as the Portuguese had discovered an extensive track by sailing to the eastwards, he concluded that the opposite or most easterly coast of that country might certainly be attained, and by a nearer path, by crossing the Atlantic to the westwards. The result of this profound conception, by the discovery of America, has been already detailed in the *Second* Book of this collection; and we now proceed in this *Fourth* Book to detail the various steps of other navigators, in prosecution of this grand design of surrounding the globe, in which many curious and interesting discoveries have been made, and by which geographical knowledge and practical navigation have been brought to great degrees of perfection.

Before commencing the narrative appropriated for this division of our arrangement, it is proper to give the following

ing complete table of all the circumnavigators, within the period assigned to the present portion of this collection; with the names of the ports from which they sailed, and the dates of their respective voyages, and returns.—*Ed.*

	Sailed from		*Returned.*
1. Ferdinand Magellan,	Seville, in Spain,	Aug. 10, 1519.	Sept. 8, 1522.
2. Sir Francis Drake,	Plymouth Sound,	Dec. 30, 1577.	Sept. 16, 1580.
3. Sir Thomas Candish,	Plymouth, -	July 25, 1586.	Sept. 9, 1588.
4. Oliver van Noord,	Goeree, - -	Sept. 13, 1598.	Aug. 26, 1601.
5. George Spilbergeny,	Texel, - -	Aug. 8, 1614.	July 1, 1617.
6. Shouten and Le Mair,	Texel, - -	June 24, 1615.	July 1, 1617.
7. Nassau fleet, -	Goeree, - -	April 29, 1623.	Jan. 21, 1626.
8. Cowley,* -	Achamack, in Virginia,	Aug. 23, 1683.	Oct. 12, 1686.
9. William Dampier,*	Achamack, -	Aug. 28, 1683.	Sept 16, 1691.
10. Dampier and Funnel,	the Downs, -	Aug. 9, 1703.	Aug. 1706.
11. Wood Rogers, and Courtney,	Bristol, - -	June 15, 1708.	Oct. 1, 1711.
12. John Clapperton,	Plymouth, - -	Feb. 15, 1719.	June, 1722.
13. George Shelvocke,	Plymouth, - -	Feb. 15, 1719.	Aug. 1, 1722.
14. Roggewein, -	Texel, - -	July 17, 1721.	July 11, 1723.
15. George Anson,	St Helens, - -	Sept. 18, 1740.	June 15, 1744.

CHAPTER I.

VOYAGE OF FERDINAND MAGELLAN ROUND THE WORLD, IN 1519—1522.[1]

SECTION I.

Some Account of Magellan, previous to the Commencement of his Voyage.

OWING to the discoveries made under the authority of the sovereign of Castile, the Portuguese were excessively jealous of the safety of their possessions in the East Indies. At length, after various negociations, the authority of

* These two are conjoined in Chap. VIII. of this book, for reasons which will there appear sufficiently obvious.—E.

[1] Harris' Collection, I. 6. The utmost pains have been taken to narrate this expedition in the clearest manner, by comparing all the different relations of the Spanish and Portuguese writers. We regret much, however, the loss of a large history of this voyage, by P. Martyr, which was burnt in the sack of Rome, when taken by the Constable de Bourbon.—*Harris.*

of the pope was interposed, then considered as supreme among the princes of Europe who were in communion with the church of Rome. By a bull or papal decree, all countries discovered, or to be discovered, in the East, were declared to belong to the crown of Portugal, and all that were found in the west were to be the property of Spain. Yet this measure rather smothered than extinguished the flames of contention; as both courts readily listened to any proposals that tended to aggrandise the one at the expence of the other. This spirit of contention between the courts of Spain and Portugal, gave occasion to several men of enterprise, who happened to be dissatisfied by the delays or refusal of either of these courts, in countenancing their projects, to apply themselves for employment to the other. Among those who took this method of advancing their fortunes, was Ferdinand Magalhaens, now generally known by the name of Magellan. He was a gentleman of good family in Portugal, who had addicted himself from his youth to maritime affairs, and had acquired great skill both in the theory and practice of navigation. He seemed formed by nature for the achievement of great exploits, having all the qualities requisite to compose the character of a truly great man. With a courage which no danger could appal, he possessed the utmost calmness of temper and sweetness of disposition, by which all who conversed with him were engaged to love and esteem his character. He was naturally eloquent, both in illustrating and proving the reasonableness of his own opinions, and in converting others from their erroneous preconceived notions. Above all, he possessed that steady and persevering resolution, which not only enabled him to vanquish the greatest difficulties, but gave such appearance of success to every thing he promised or undertook, as secured the confidence of all who were under his command. As these extraordinary qualities would have distinguished him in any station of life, so they were remarkably useful in the present enterprise, by which he gained immortal reputation, although he lost his life before its completion.

Don Ferdinand Magellan had served with much credit in India, under the famous Albuquerque, and thought that he merited some recompence for his services; but all his applications were treated with coldness and contempt by the great, which was intolerable to a person of his spirit. He associated, therefore, with men of like fortunes, whose merits

had

had been similarly neglected, and particularly with one Ruy Falero, a great astronomer, whom the Portuguese represented as a conjuror, retiring along with him to the Spanish court, where he made propositions for new discoveries to Cardinal Ximenes, who was then prime minister of Spain. The Portuguese ambassador used all imaginable pains to counteract these designs, and solicited the court to deliver up Magellan and his companion as deserters, even representing Magellan as a bold talkative person, ready to undertake any thing, yet wanting capacity and courage for the performance of his projects. He even made secret proposals to Magellan, offering him pardon and great rewards to desist from his present purpose, and to return to the service of his own sovereign. All these arts were unavailing, as the Spanish ministry, now competent judges of these matters, were satisfied of the probability of the discoveries proposed by Magellan and his coadjutor Falero, who were both received into favour, made knights of the order of St Jago, and had their own terms granted to them.

The grounds on which this expedition was founded were as follow. The opinion advanced by Columbus, of the possibility of reaching the East Indies by sailing to the *west,* was assumed as certainly well founded, though he had not been able to accomplish it; and it was asserted, that it could not be attended with any insuperable difficulty to sail from the South Sea, then recently discovered, to the Molucca Islands. The grand desideratum was to find a passage westwards, from the Atlantic Ocean into the new-found South Sea, which they expected might be met with through the Rio de la Plata, or by some other opening on that eastern coast of South America. Should this succeed, Spain might then reap the benefit of both the Indies; since, if this discovery were made by way of the *west,* it would then fall expressly within the grant of the papal bull to Spain.

In consequence of these proposals, it was agreed that Magellan and the other adventurers were to be furnished by the crown of Spain with five ships, manned by 234 men, with provisions for two years; and that the adventurers should reap a twentieth part of the clear profit, the government of any islands they might discover to be vested in them and their heirs for ever, with the title of Adelantado. The agreed fleet of five ships was accordingly fitted out for the expedition at Seville, consisting of the Trinidada, in which Magellan

Magellan sailed as admiral, and having a Portuguese pilot named Stephen Gomez; the Santa Vittoria, commanded by Don Luis de Mendoza; the St Antonio, Don Juan de Carthagena; the St Jago, Don Juan Serrano; and the Conception, Don Gaspar de Quixada. According to some authors, the number of men in these five ships amounted to 237, though by most they are said to have been 250, among whom were thirty Portuguese, upon whom Magellan chiefly depended for naval skill; as he likewise did greatly upon Serrano, who had left the service of Portugal in like manner with himself, after having served for many years in India, and some time in the Moluccas, of which islands they were now going in search.

SECTION II.

Proceedings of the Voyage from Seville to Patagonia, and wintering there.

GREAT hopes of success were entertained from this voyage, from the known experience of the commanders, although its real object was carefully concealed by Magellan, who merely gave out to the other adventurers that it was intended for the discovery of new countries, by which they believed themselves bound to the certain acquisition of gold. They set sail from Seville, in high expectations of acquiring riches, on the 10th of August, 1519. The 3d October, the fleet arrived between Cape Verd and the islands of that name. After being detained by tedious calms on the coast of Guinea for seventy days, they at last got to the south of the line, and held on their course to the coast of Brazil, of which they came in sight in about the latitude of 22° S. They here procured abundant refreshments of fruits, sugar-canes, and several kinds of animals.

Proceeding about 2½ degrees farther south, they came into a country inhabited by a wild sort of people, of prodigious stature, fierce and barbarous, and making a strange roaring noise, more like the bellowing of bulls, than human speech. Notwithstanding their prodigious bulk, these people were so nimble that none of the Spaniards or Portuguese were swift enough to overtake them. At this place there was a fine river of fresh water, the mouth of which was fully seventeen

seventeen leagues wide, in which there were seven islands, the largest of which they named the island of St Mary, where they procured some *jewels*.[1] Proceeding along this coast towards the south, they fell in with two islands so abounding in seals and penguins, that they might have laden all their five ships with them in a short time. The penguins are a black, heavy, unwieldy fowl, extremely fat, covered with a sort of down instead of feathers, and having a bill like that of a raven; drawing their entire subsistence from the sea, as fish is their only food.

They next advanced to about the latitude of 49° 30′ S. where they were forced to remain for five months, owing to the severity of the weather, it being now winter in these southern parts. They here passed their time very unpleasantly, and for a long time believed the country to be uninhabited, but at length a savage came to visit them. He was a brisk jolly fellow, very merrily disposed, and came towards them singing and dancing. On coming to the shore of the haven in which the ships had taken refuge, he stood there for some time, throwing dust upon his head. This being observed, some persons were sent ashore to him in a boat, and making similar signs of peace; and he came along with them on board, without any appearance of fear or hesitation. The size and stature of this person was such as in some measure entitled him to be deemed a giant, the head of one of the ordinary-sized Spaniards only reaching to his waist, and he was proportionally large made. His body was painted all over, having a stag's horn delineated on each cheek, and large circles round the eyes. The natural colour of his skin was yellow, and his hair was white. His apparel consisted of the skin of a beast, clumsily sewed together, covering his whole body and limbs from head to foot. The beast of which this was the skin, was as strange as the wearer, being neither mule, horse, nor camel, but partaking of all three, having the ears of a mule, the tail of a horse, and the body shaped like a camel. The arms of this savage consisted of a stout bow, having for a string the gut or sinew of that

[1] These jewels may possibly have been a few pearls. The indications in the text are too vague to afford even a guess at the situation of the river and its seven islands; only it may be mentioned, that the most northern part of the coast of Patagonia is in lat. 38° S. and that no river answering the description in the text is to be found on all that coast.—E.

that strange beast; and the arrows were tipped with sharp stones, instead of iron heads.

The admiral made this man be presented with meat and drink, of which he readily partook, and seemed to enjoy himself very comfortably, till happening to see himself in a mirror which was given him among other toys, he was so frightened that he started back and overturned two of the men, and did not easily recover his composure. This giant fared so well, that several others came to visit the ships, and one of them behaved with so much familiarity and good humour, that the Europeans were much pleased with him. This person shewed them one of the beasts in the skins of which they were cloathed, from which the foregoing description must have been taken.[2] Being desirous to make prisoners of some of these giants, Magellan gave orders for this purpose to some of his crew. Accordingly, while amusing them with toys, they put iron shackles on their legs, which at first they conceived had been fine ornaments like the rest, and seemed pleased with their jingling sound, till they found themselves hampered and betrayed. They then fell a bellowing like bulls, and imploring the aid of *Setebos* in this extremity, whom they must therefore have conceived some good and compassionate being, as it is not to be conceived they would crave relief from an evil spirit. Yet the voyagers reported strange things, of horrible forms and appearances frequently seen among these people, such as horned demons with long shaggy hair, throwing out fire before and behind: But these seem mere dreams or fables.

Most of the natives of this country were dressed in the skins of beasts, similarly to the one who first visited them. Their hair was short, yet tied up by a cotton lace or string. They had no fixed dwellings, but used certain moveable huts or tents, constructed of skins similar to those in which they were cloathed, which they carry with them from place to place, as they roam about the country. What flesh they are able to procure, they devour quite raw without any kind of cookery, besides which their chief article of food is a sweet root, which they name *capar*. The voyagers report that these savages were very jealous of their women; yet do not mention having seen any. Their practice of physic consists in bleeding

[2] This must have been a Lama, Paca, or Chilihueque, of the camel genus, vulgarly called Peruvian sheep.—E.

bleeding and vomiting: The former being performed by giving a good chop with some edge tool to the part affected; and the latter is excited by thrusting an arrow half a yard down the throat of the patient. These people, to whom Magellan gave the name of *Patagons,* are so strong, that when one only was attempted to be made prisoner of by nine Spaniards, he tired them all; and, though they got him down, and even bound his hands, he freed himself from his bonds, and got away, in spite of every endeavour to detain him. Besides *capar,* the name of a root already mentioned, and which likewise they applied to the bread or ship's biscuit given them by the Spaniards, the only words reported of their language are *ali* water, *amel* black, *cheiche* red, *cherecai* red cloth; and *Setebos* and *Cheleule* are the names of two beings to whom they pay religious respect, *Setebos* being the supreme, and *Cheleule* an inferior deity.

The haven in which they remained there five months, was named by Magellan, Port St Julian, of which and the surrounding country they took solemn possession for the crown of Spain, erecting a cross as a signal of sovereignty. But the principal reason of this long stay was in consequence of a mutiny which broke out, not only among the common men, but was even joined or fomented rather by some of the captains, particularly by Don Luis de Mendoza, on whom Magellan had placed great reliance. On this occasion Magellan acted with much spirit; for, having reduced the mutineers to obedience, he brought their ringleaders to trial for plotting against his life; hanged Don Luis de Mendoza and a few others of the most culpable; leaving Don Juan de Carthagena and others, who were not so deeply implicated, among the Patagons. The weather growing fine, and the people being reduced to obedience, Magellan set sail from Port St Julian, and pursued his course to the latitude of 51° 40′ S. where finding a convenient port, with abundance of fuel, water, and fish, he remained for two months longer.

Section III.

Prosecution of the Voyage, till the Death of Magellan.

Again resuming the voyage, they proceeded along the eastern shore of Patagonia to the latitude of 52° S. when the entrance

entrance into the famous straits still known under the name of Magellan were discovered, through which the squadron continued its voyage, finding these straits about 110 leagues in length, from east to west, with varying breadths, in some places very wide, and in others not more than half a league across; the land on both sides being high, rugged, and uneven, and the mountains covered with snow. On reaching the western end of these straits, an open passage was found into the great South Sea, which sight gave Magellan the most unbounded joy, as having discovered that for which he had gone in quest, and that he was now able practicably to demonstrate what he had advanced, that it was possible to sail to the East Indies by way of the West. To the point of land from which he first saw this so-long-desired prospect, he gave the name of *Cape Desiderato.* This prospect was not, however, so desirable to some of his followers; for here one of his ships stole away, and sailed homewards alone.

Magellan entered the great South Sea on the 28th November, 1620, and proceeded through that vast expanse, to which he gave the name of the Pacific Ocean, for three months and twenty days, without once having sight of land. During a considerable part of this period they suffered extreme misery from want of provisions, such as have been seldom heard of. All their bread and other provisions were consumed, and they were reduced to the necessity of subsisting upon dry skins and leather that covered some of the rigging of the ships, which they had to steep for some days in salt water, to render it soft enough to be chewed. What water remained in the ships was become putrid, and so nauseous that necessity alone compelled them to use it. Owing to these impure and scanty means of subsistence, their numbers daily diminished, and those who remained alive became exceedingly weak, low-spirited, and sickly. In some, the gums grew quite over their teeth on both sides; so that they were unable to chew the tough leathern viands which formed their only food, and they were miserably starved to death. Their only comfort under this dreadful state of famine was, that the winds blew them steadily and gently along, while the sea remained calm and almost unruffled, whence it got the name of *Pacific*, which it has ever since retained.

In all this length of time, they only saw two uninhabited islands, which shewed no signs of affording them any relief. Sometimes the needle varied extremely, and at other times was

was so irregular in its motions, as to require frequent touches of the loadstone to revive its energy. No remarkable star was found near the south pole, by which to ascertain the southern cardinal point, or to estimate the latitude. Instead of an antarctic polar star, two clusters of small stars were observed, having a small space between them, in which were two stars of inconsiderable size and lustre, which seemed to be at no great distance from the pole, by the smallness of the circle they described in their diurnal course. When at the distance of 20° from the south pole, they saw a high island to which they gave the name of *Cipangue*; and at 15° another equally high, which they named *Sumbdit*.[1] They sailed in one gulf, or stretch of sea, at least 4000 leagues, and made their longitude, by estimation or reckoning, 120° W. from the place of their original departure. By this time they drew near the equinoctial line, and having got beyond that into 13° N. latitude, they made for the cape called *Cottigare* by old geographers; but missing it in that old account of its latitude, they understood afterwards that it is in the latitude of 12° N.[2]

On the 6th March, 1521, they fell in with a cluster of islands, being then in lat. 12° N. and 146° of west longitude from the place of their first setting out.[3] These islands were called by Magellan *Islas de los Ladrones*, or the islands of robbers, and are called in modern geography the Ladrones or Marian islands. They here went on shore to refresh themselves, after all the fatigues and privations of their tedious voyage through the Pacific Ocean; but the thievish disposition of the islanders would not allow them any quiet re-

pose

[1] The text is evidently here erroneous, as Magellan entered the Pacific Ocean in lat. 47° S. and there is not the smallest reason to suspect he had been forced into the latitudes of 70° and 75° S. Instead therefore of the south-pole, we ought probably to understand the equator. As these two islands were uninhabited, the names given them must have been imposed by Magellan or his associates. Cipangue is the name given to Japan by Marco Polo, and is of course a singular blunder. The other is unintelligible, and the voyage is so vaguely expressed, as even to defy conjecture.—E.

[2] This cape Cottigare in the South Sea, in lat. 12° or 13° N. is utterly unintelligible, unless it refer to the southern part of Guam, Guaham, or Guaci, one of the Ladrones, which they soon discovered, and which is actually in 13° N.—E.

[3] By the reckoning in the text, the longitude of the Ladrone islands, which they now discovered, would be 151° 25′ W. from Greenwich. But their true longitude is 216° 30′ W. Their latitude is between 13° and 20° 30′ N.—E.

pose, as they were continually stealing things from the ships, while the sick and worn-out mariners were endeavouring to refresh themselves on shore. Resolving therefore to deliver themselves from the disturbance of these pilferers, they marched a small party of armed men into the interior of one of these islands, where they burnt some houses, and slew some of the natives. But, though this correction awed them a little for the present, it did not mend their thievish disposition; for which reason they resolved to seek out some other place, where they might enjoy some repose in safety.

No order or form of government was observed to subsist among these natives of the Ladrones, but every one seemed to live according to his own humour or inclination. The men were entirely naked, the hair both of their heads and beards being black, that on their heads so long as to reach down to their waists. Their natural complexion is olive, and they anoint themselves all over with cocoa-nut oil. Their teeth seemed coloured artificially black or red, and some of them wore a kind of bonnet made of palm leaves. The women are better favoured and more modest than the men, and all of them wore some decent coverings made of palm leaves. Their hair was black, thick, and so very long as nearly to trail on the ground. They seemed careful industrious housewives, spending their time at home in fabricating mats and nets of palm leaves, while the men were occupied abroad in stealing. Their houses are of timber, covered with boards and great leaves, and divided within into several apartments. Their beds are of mats laid above each other, and they use palm leaves by way of sheets. Their only weapons are clubs, and long poles headed with bone. Their food consists of cocoa-nuts, bananas, figs, sugar-canes, fowls, and flying-fishes. Their canoes are oddly contrived and patched up, yet sail with wonderful rapidity, the sails being made of broad leaves sewed together. Instead of a rudder they use a large board, with a staff or pole at one end, and in sailing, either end of their canoes is indifferently used as head or stern. They paint their canoes all over, either red, white, or black, as hits their fancy. These people are so taken with any thing that is new, that when the Spaniards wounded several of them with their arrows, and even pierced some quite through, they would pluck out the arrows from their wounds, and stare at them till they died. Yet would they still continue to follow after the ships, to gaze upon them as they were going away,

so

so that at one time they were closely surrounded by at least two hundred canoes filled with natives, admiring those wonderful contrivances.

The 10th of March, the Spaniards landed on the island of *Zamal*, about 30 leagues from the Ladrones.* Next day they landed on *Humuna*, an island not inhabited, yet well deserving of being so, where they found springs of excellent water, with abundance of fruit-trees, gold, and white coral. Magellan named this *the island of good signs*. The natives from some of the neighbouring islands, a people of much humanity, came here to them shortly after, very fair and of friendly dispositions, who seemed well pleased at the arrival of the Spaniards among them, and came loaded with presents of fish, and wine made from the cocoa-tree, promising speedily to bring other provisions. This tree somewhat resembles the date palm, and supplies the natives with bread, oil, wine, vinegar, and even physic. The wine being drawn from the tree itself, and all the rest from the fruit or nut. To procure the wine, they cut off part of a branch, and fasten to the remaining part a large reed or hollow cane, into which the liquor drops, being like white-wine in colour, and of a grateful tartish taste. When a good quantity of this is drawn off, it is put into a vessel, and is their cocoa-wine without farther preparation.

The fruit, which is as large as a man's head, has two rinds or coats. The outermost is green, and two fingers thick, entirely composed of strings and threads, of which they make all the ropes that are used in their canoes. Under this there is another rind, or shell rather, of considerable thickness, and very hard. This they burn and pulverize, and use it in this state as a remedy for several distempers. The kernel adheres all round the inside of this shell, being white, and about the thickness of a finger, having a pleasant taste, almost like an almond: this, when dried, serves the islanders instead of bread. In the inside of this kernel there is a considerable

* In this voyage the term Ladrones seems confined to the most southern islands of this group, as there are no other islands for a very considerable distance in any direction. The entire group stretches about 6° 10′ nearly N. and S. or 123 leagues. In modern geography, Guaham and Tinian are the largest islands of the group. Urac, Agrigan, Analajam, and Saypan, are the names of some others of the Ladrones. The names in the text do not occur in modern maps. Thirty leagues from Guaham, the southernmost island, would bring them to Tinian.—E.

siderable hollow space, containing a quantity of pure limpid liquor, of a very cordial and refreshing nature, which sometimes congeals into a solid, and then lies like an egg within the hollow kernel. When they would make oil, they steep the fruit in water till it putrifies, and then boil it over the fire to separate the oil, the remaining water becoming vinegar, when exposed some time to the sun. Lastly, by mixing the kernel with the liquor lodged within its cavity, and straining it through a cloth, they make a very good milk. The cocoa-nut tree resembles the date palm, except in not being so rugged and knotty. They will continue to thrive for an hundred years, or more, and two of them will maintain a family of ten persons in wine plentifully, if used by turns, each tree being drawn for seven or eight days, and then allowed to rest as long.

According to their promise, the islanders returned with a farther supply of provisions, and entered into much familiar cordiality with the Spaniards. A number of them having been invited on board the admiral's ship, a gun was discharged by way of entertaining them, but put them in such terror, that they were ready to leap over board, yet were soon reconciled by good usage and presents. The name of their island was *Zulvan*, of no great compass, yet considerable for its productions. They had in their barks various kinds of spices, as cinnamon, cloves, nutmegs, ginger, and mace, with several ornaments made of gold, which they carried up and down to sell as merchandise. Although without apparel, these people were dressed, or ornamented rather, in a more costly manner than Europeans; for they had gold earrings in each ear, and various jewels fastened by means of gold to their arms; besides which, their daggers, knives, and lances were richly ornamented with the same metal.[5] Their only cloathing consisted of a kind of apron, of a species of cloth made very ingeniously from the rind of a tree. The most considerable men among them were distinguished from the common people by a piece of silk ornamented with needle-work, wrapped round their heads. These islanders were gross, broad, and well set on their limbs, of an olive complexion,

[5] It is highly probable that the valuable spiceries, gold, and jewels, of the text, are mere fables, invented by Pigafetta, to enhance the value of his voyage, as such productions are now unknown to the Ladrone islands.—E.

complexion, having their bodies constantly rubbed over with cocoa-nut oil.

Departing from this place on the 21st March, 1521, and steering between west and south-west, they passed among the islands named *Cenalo*, *Huinanghan*, *Hibussan*, and *Abarian*.[6] The 28th, they came to the isle of *Buthuan*, where they were kindly received by the king and prince, who gave them considerable quantities of gold and spices; in return for which, Magellan presented the king with two cloth vests, giving knives, mirrors, and glass beads to the courtiers. Along with the king and his nobles, Magellan sent two persons on shore, one of whom was Antonio Pigafetta, the historian of the voyage. On landing, the king and his attendants all raised their hands to heaven, and then the two Christians, who imitated this ceremony, which was afterwards observed in drinking. The king's palace was like a great hay-loft, mounted so high upon great posts of timber, that they had to go up by means of ladders, and was thatched with palm-leaves. Though not Christians, these islanders always made the sign of the cross at their meals, at which they sat cross-legged like tailors. At night, instead of candles, they burnt a certain gum of a tree, wrapped up in palm-leaves. After entertaining them in their respective palaces, the king and prince of *Buthuan* dismissed Pigafetta and his companion with noble presents, filled with admiration of their guests, whom they believed to be men above the rank of common mortals, being especially astonished at Pigafetta's writing, and reading what he had written, which was too mysterious for their comprehension.

In this island, by sifting the earth of a certain mine, they procured great lumps of gold, some as large as walnuts, and some even as big as eggs; all the vessels used by the king at table being made of this precious metal.[7] The king of this island was a very comely personage, of an olive complexion, with long black hair, his body being perfumed with the odoriferous

[6] Not one of these islands is known to modern geography; and the whole of this voyage is related so loosely and unsatisfactorily, that it is impossible to trace its course, except at well-known places.—E.

[7] These stories of gold in such wonderful abundance, are obvious falsehoods contrived by Pigafetta, either to excite wonderment, or to procure the command of an expedition of discovery; a practice we have formerly had occasion to notice in the early Spanish conquests and settlements in America.—E.

riferous oils of storax and benzoin, and painted with various colours. He had gold-rings in his ears, and three rings of that metal on each of his fingers. His head was wrapped round by a silken veil or turban, and his body was cloathed to the knees in a cotton wrapper, wrought with silk and gold. He wore at his side a sword or dagger, with a haft of gold, and a scabbard of carved wood. This country is so rich, that one of the natives offered a crown of massy gold in exchange for six strings of glass beads; but Magellan would not allow such bargains, lest the Spaniards might appear too greedy of gold.

The natives were active and sprightly, the common men being quite naked, except painting their bodies; but the women are cloathed from the waist downwards, and both sexes wore gold ear-rings. They all continually chewed *areka*, a fruit like a pear, which they cut in quarters, rolling it up in a leaf called *betel*, resembling a bay-leaf, alleging that they could not live without this practice. The only religious rite observed among them, was looking up to heaven, to which they raised their joined hands, and calling on their god *Abba*. Magellan caused a banner of the cross, with the crown of thorns and the nails, to be exposed and publicly reverenced by all his men in the king's presence; desiring the king to have it erected on the top of a high mountain in the island, as a token that Christians might expect good entertainment in that country, and also as a security for the nation; since, if they prayed to it devoutly, it would infallibly protect them against lightning and tempests, and other evils. This the king promised should be done, knowing no better, and glad to be so easily defended from thunderbolts.

Leaving this island, and conducted by the king's pilots, the Spaniards came to the isles of *Zeilon*, *Zubut*, *Messana*, and *Caleghan*, of which *Zubut* was the best, and enjoyed the best trade. In *Massana*, they found dogs, cats, hogs, poultry, goats, rice, ginger, cocoa-nuts, millet, panic, barley, figs, oranges, wax, and plenty of gold. This island lies in lat. 9° 40′ N. and in long. 162° from their first meridian.[8] After remaining here eight days, they sailed to the N.W. passing

[8] This is 16° of longitude beyond the Ladrones, which are in 216° 30 W. and would consequently give the longitude of Zubut as 232° 30′ W. or 107° 30′ E. from Greenwich. Yet from what appears afterwards, they seem to have been now among the Philippine islands, the most easterly of which are in long. 126° E. from Greenwich.—E.

passing the islands of *Zeilon, Bohol, Canghu, Barbai,* and *Caleghan;* in which last islands there are bats as large as eagles, which they found to eat, when dressed, like poultry. In this island, among various other birds, there was one kind resembling our hens, but having small horns, which bury their eggs in the sand, where they are hatched by the heat of the sun. *Caleghan* is about twenty miles W. from *Messana;* and *Zubut,* to which they now directed their course, fifty leagues W. from *Caleghan.* In this part of the voyage they were accompanied by the king of *Messana,* whom Magellan had greatly attached to him by many services.

They entered the port of *Zubut* on the 7th April, and on coming near the city all the great guns were fired, which put the inhabitants into great consternation. This, however, was soon quieted, by the arrival of a messenger at the city from the ships, who assured the king of *Zubut* that this was an ordinary piece of respect to his dignity, whom they had come to visit on their way to the Moluccas, hearing of his fame from the king of *Messana.* The messenger also desired that the Spaniards might be furnished with provisions, in exchange for their commodities. The king then observed, that it was customary for all ships that came to his port to pay tribute, which custom he expected they would comply with as well as others. To this the messenger replied, that the Spanish admiral was the servant of so powerful a sovereign, that he could make no such acknowledgment to any prince whatever. That the admiral was willing to be at peace with him, if he thought proper to accept his friendship; but if otherwise, he should soon have his fill of war. A certain Moor, who happened to be present, told the king that these people were certainly the Portuguese, who had conquered Calicut and Malacca, and advised him therefore to beware of provoking them to hostilities; whereupon the king referred the matter to his council, promising to give an answer next day, and in the meantime sent victuals and wine aboard the ships.

The king of Messana, who was a potent prince, went ashore to confer with the king of Zubut, who in the end became almost ready to pay tribute instead of demanding it; but Magellan only asked liberty to trade, which was readily granted. Magellan persuaded the king and his principal people to become Christians, which they did after some religious conferences, and were all afterwards baptised. This example spread over the whole island, so that in eight days

the

the whole inhabitants became Christians, except those of one village of idolaters, who absolutely refused. The Spaniards therefore burnt this village, and erected a cross on its ruins.[9]

The people of this island deal justly with each other, having the use of weights and measures. Their houses are of timber, raised high in the air on posts, so that they ascend to them by ladders. They told us of a certain sea-fowl in this country, called *Lughan*, about the size of a crow, which the whales sometimes swallow alive, in consequence of which their hearts are eaten by this bird; and many whales are killed in this manner, the bird being afterwards found alive in the carcase of the whale. The Spaniards drove a most advantageous trade at this place, receiving from the natives ten pesos of gold, of a ducat and a half each, in exchange for fourteen pounds of iron; and procured abundance of provisions for mere trifles.

Not far from Zubut is the isle of *Mathan*, the inhabitants of which go quite naked, except a slight covering in front, all the males wearing gold-rings hanging to the preputium. This island was governed by two kings, one of whom refused to pay tribute to the king of Spain, on which Magellan determined to reduce him by force of arms. The Indian had an army of between six and seven thousand men, armed with bows and arrows, darts and javelins, which Magellan attacked with sixty men, armed with coats of mail and helmets. The battle was for a long time doubtful, when at last Magellan advanced too far among the barbarians, by whom he was at first wounded by a poisoned arrow, and afterwards thrust into the head by a lance; which at once closed the life and actions of this noble commander. About eight or nine of the Christians were slain in this engagement, besides many wounded. After this disaster the Spaniards ineffectually attempted to redeem the body of their unfortunate admiral; and the other king, who had embraced the Christian religion without understanding its tenets, abandoned it upon this reverse of fortune to the Spaniards, and made peace with his rival, engaging to put all the Christians to death. With this view, he invited the Spaniards to a banquet, when he made them all be cruelly murdered, only reserving Don Juan

9 This incredible story has been considerably abridged on the present occasion, and is too absurd to merit any commentary.—E.

Juan Serrano alive, in order to procure a supply of artillery and ammunition for his ransom. With these conditions the Spaniards would have willingly complied, but found so much prevarication and treachery in the conduct of the natives, and were so intimidated by the miserable fate of their companions, that they put to sea, leaving the unfortunate Serrano to his miserable fate.

Section IV.

Continuation of the Voyage to its Conclusion.

A little before the death of Magellan, news were received of the Moluccas, the great object of this voyage. Leaving Mathan, they sailed for the island of *Bohol*, where they burnt the Conception, one of their ships, transferring its men, ammunition, and provisions into the other two. Directing their course from thence to the S.W. they came to the island of *Paviloghon*, inhabited by negroes. From thence they came to a large island named *Chippit*, in lat. 8° N. about 50 leagues W. from Zubut, and about 170° of longitude from their first departure.[1] This island abounds in rice, ginger, goats, hogs, hens, &c. and the Spaniards were kindly received by the king, who, in token of peace, marked his body, face, and the tip of his tongue, with blood which he drew from his left-arm; in which ceremony he was imitated by the Spaniards. Sailing about 40 leagues from thence between the W. and S.W. or W.S.W. they came to a very large island, named *Caghaian*, thinly inhabited. The inhabitants were Mahometans, exiles from Borneo, rich in gold, and using poisoned arrows; a common practice in most of these islands. Sailing W.N.W. from this island 25 leagues, they came to *Puloan*, a fruitful island in lat. 9° 20′ N. and 179° 20′ of longitude W. from their first departure.[2] This island yields much the same productions as Chippit, together with

[1] Bohal is one of the Philippine islands, in lat. 10° N. and long. 123° 50′ E. from Greenwich. Pavilogbon and Chippit must accordingly refer to some islands of the same group farther west.—E.

[2] Puloan, Pulowan, or Paragua, the westermost of the Philippines, an island of considerable extent, in lat. 10° N. and long. 119° E. from Greenwich. From the direction of the voyage, the great island of Chagbaian of the text, was probably that now called Magindano.—E.

with large figs, battatos, cocoa-nuts, and sugar-canes; and they make a kind of wine of rice, which is very intoxicating, yet better than palm-wine. The natives go entirely naked, use poisoned arrows, and are greatly addicted to cock-fighting.

They came next to the great and rich island of Borneo, in lat. 5° 5′ N. the chief city containing not less than 25,000 houses. The king was a Mahometan of great power, keeping a magnificent court; and was always attended by a numerous guard. He sent several presents to the Spanish captains, and made two elephants be led out with rich silk trappings, to bring the Spanish messengers and presents to his palace. He has ten secretaries of state, who write every thing concerning his affairs on the bark of trees. His household is managed by women, who are the daughters of his principal courtiers. This country affords camphor, which is the gum of a tree called *Capar;* as also cinnamon, ginger, myrabolans, oranges, lemons, sugar, cucumbers, melons, and other fruits, with abundance of beasts and birds, and all other products of the equinoctial climate. The natives continually chew betel and areka, and drink arrack.

Leaving Borneo, they went to the island of *Cimbubon,* in lat. 8° 7′ N.[3] where they remained forty days, caulking and repairing their ships, and taking in a supply of fresh water. In the woods of this isle they found a tree, the leaves of which, when they fall to the ground, move from place to place as if alive. They resemble the leaves of the mulberry, having certain fibres produced from their sides resembling legs, and suddenly spring away when touched. Pigafetta, the author of this relation, kept one of these leaf-animals in a dish for eight days.[4] This isle produces ostriches, wild hogs, and crocodiles. They caught here a fish having a head like a sow, with two horns, its body consisting of one entire bone, and having a substance on its back resembling a saddle.

From hence they sailed to certain islands named *Salo Taghima,* which produce fine pearls, and from whence the king of Borneo once procured two large round pearls, nearly as big as eggs. They came next to a harbour in the island of *Sarangani,* reported to yield both pearls and gold. At this

[3] Perhaps Balambangan, in 8° 20′ N.

[4] Harris observes, that this account is quite incredible: Yet it is certainly true that an insect of this description exists, though not the leaf of a tree, as erroneously supposed by Pigafetta.—E.

this place they pressed two pilots to conduct them to the Moluccas; and passing the islands named *Ceana, Canida, Cabiaia, Camuca, Cabalu, Chiari, Lipan,* and *Nuza,* they came to a fair isle in lat. 3° 20′ N. named *Sangir.*[5] Passing five other islands, they at last espied a cluster of five islands, which they were informed by the pilots were the Moluccas. This was on the 6th November, 1521, twenty-seven months after their departure from Spain. Trying the depth of the sea in the neighbourhood of these islands, they found it no less than fifty-one fathoms; though the Portuguese report that this sea is too shallow for being navigated, and is besides rendered extremely dangerous by numerous rocks and shelves, and by continual darkness; doubtless to deter any other nation from attempting to go there.

They came to anchor in the port of *Tiridore* [Tidore] on the 8th November, this being one of the chief of the Molucca islands. Although a Mahometan, the king of this island was so fond of the Spaniards, that he invited them to come on shore as into their own country, and to use the houses as their own, calling them his brethren and children; even changing the name of his island from Tidore to Castile. These Molucca islands are five in number, *Ternate, Tidore, Mortir, Makian,* and *Batchian.* Ternate is the chief of these islands, and its king once ruled over them all; but at this time Mortir and Makian were commonwealths, but Batchian was a separate monarchy. The clove-tree is very tall, and as big about as the body of a man, having large boughs, with leaves resembling those of the bay-tree, and the bark is of an olive colour. The cloves grow in large clusters at the extremities of the boughs; being at first white, but growing red when they come to maturity, and grow black when dried. While green, the flavour of the wood, bark, and leaves, is almost as strong as that of the cloves. These are gathered twice each year, in June and December, and if not taken in time, become very hard. Every man has his own particular trees, on which they bestow very little care. They have also in this isle a peculiar sort of tree, the bark of which, being steeped in water, may be drawn out in small fibres as fine as silk; of which the women make themselves a sort of aprons, which are their only cloathing.

Near

[5] Sangir is in lat. 3° 35′ N. and long. 125° 25 E. from Greenwich. The other islands enumerated in the text do not occur in modern maps.—E.

Near Tidore is the large island of *Gilolo*, which is divided between the Mahometans and idolaters. The two Mahometan kings have themselves contributed liberally to the population of the island; one of them having 600 children, and the other 650. The pagans are more moderate in their conduct in this respect than the Mahometans, and are even less superstitious; yet it is said that they worship, for the rest of the day, whatever they first see every morning. In this island there grows a peculiar sort of reed, as big as a man's leg, which is full of limpid wholesome water. On the 12th November, a public warehouse was opened by the Spaniards in the town of Tidore, for the sale of their merchandise, which were exchanged at the following rates. For ten yards of good red cloth, they had one bahar of cloves, containing four cantars or quintals and six pounds; the cantar being 100 pounds. For fifteen yards of inferior cloth, they had one bahar. Likewise a bahar for 35 drinking glasses, or for 17 *cathyls* of quicksilver. The islanders also brought all sorts of provisions daily to the ships, together with excellent water from certain hot springs in the mountains where the cloves grow. They here received a singular present for the king of Spain, being two dead birds about the size of turtle-doves, with small legs and heads and long bills, having two or three long party-coloured feathers at each side, instead of wings, all the rest of their plumage being of a uniform tawny colour. These birds never fly except when favoured by the wind. The Mahometans allege that these birds come from Paradise, and therefore call them the birds of God.

Besides cloves, the Molucca islands produce ginger, rice, sago, goats, sheep, poultry, popinjays, white and red figs, almonds, pomegranates, oranges and lemons, and a kind of honey which is produced by a species of fly less than ants. Likewise sugar-canes, cocoa-nuts, melons, gourds, and a species of fruit, called *camulical*, which is extremely cold. The isle of Tidore is in lat. 0° 45′ N. and long. 127° 10′ E.[6] and about 9° 30′ W. from the Ladrones,[7] in a direction nearly S.W.

[6] This is the true position, reckoning the longitude from Greenwich. In the original the longitude is said to be 170° W. from the first meridian of the voyagers, being Seville in Spain, which would give 174° E. from Greenwich; no great error, considering the imperfect way in which the longitude was then reckoned at sea.—E.

[7] This is a gross error, perhaps of the press, as the difference of longitude is 16° 30′.—E.

S.W. Formerly the natives of these islands were all heathens, the Moors or Mahometans having only had footing there for about fifty years before the arrival of the Spaniards. Ternate is the most northerly of these islands, and Batchian is almost under the line, being the largest of them all.[8]

Departing from Tidore, the Spaniards were attended by several kings in their canoes to the isle of *Mare*,[9] where this royal company took leave of them with much apparent regrèt. In this isle they left one of their ships which was leaky, giving orders to have it repaired, for its return to Spain. Being now reduced to forty-six Spaniards and thirteen Indians, they directed their course from Mare towards the S.W. passing the isles named *Chacouan, Lagoma, Sico, Gioghi, Caphi, Sulacho, Lumatola, Tenetum, Buru* [Bouro?] *Arubon* [perhaps Amboina?] *Budia, Celaruri, Benaia, Ambalao, Bandon* [perhaps Banda?] *Zorobua, Zolot, Mvceuamor, Galian*, and *Mallua*, besides many others possessed by Mahometans, heathens, and canibals. They stopped fifteen days at *Mallua* to repair their ship, being in 8° N. lat. and 169° long. according to their reckoning. This island produces much pepper, both long and of the ordinary round kind. The tree on which it grows climbs like ivy, and its leaf resembles that of the mulberry. The natives are canibals; the men wearing their hair and beards; and their only weapons are bows and arrows.

Leaving *Mallua* [Moa?] on the 25th January, 1522, they arrived at *Tima* [Timor?] five leagues to the S.S.W. This island is in lat. 10° S. and long. 125° E. where they found ginger, white sanders, various kinds of fruits, and plenty of gold and provisions of all kinds. The people of the Moluccas, Java, and *Lozen* [Luzon, or the principal island of the Philippines], procure their sanders-wood from hence. The natives are idolaters, and have the *lues venerea* among them, which is a common distemper in all the islands of this great archipelago.

Leaving Timor on the 11th February, they got into the great sea called *Lantchidol*, steering W.S.W. and leaving the coast of a long string of islands on the right hand, and taking care not to sail too near the shore, lest the Portuguese of

8 The northern end of Batchian is in lat. 0° 28′, and its southern extremity in 0° 40′, both south.—E.

9 Marhee Foul, a small isle between Tidore and Motir.—E.

of Malacca should chance to discover them; wherefore they kept on the outside of Java and Sumatra. That they might pass the Cape of Good Hope the more securely, they continued their course W.S.W. till they got into the latitude of 42° S. though so sore pinched by hunger and sickness, that some were for putting in at Mosambique for refreshments; but the majority concluded that the Portuguese would prove bad physicians for their distempers, and determined therefore to continue the voyage homewards. In this course they lost twenty-one of their men, and were at length constrained to put in at the island of St Jago, one of the Cape Verds, to throw themselves on the mercy of the Portuguese. So, venturing ashore, they opened their miserable case to the Portuguese, who at first relieved their necessities; but the next time they went on shore, detained all who came as prisoners.

Those who still remained in the ship, now reduced to thirteen, having no mind to join their companions in captivity, made all the haste they could away, and being favoured by the winds, they arrived in the harbour of San Lucar, near Seville, on the 7th September, 1522. He who commanded this vessel, which had the good fortune to return from this remarkable voyage, was Juan Sebastian Cano, a native of Guetaria in Biscay, a person of much merit and resolution, who was nobly rewarded by the emperor Charles V. To perpetuate the memory of this first voyage round the world, the emperor gave him for his coat of arms the terrestrial globe, with this motto, *Primus me circumdedisti.* The newly-discovered straits at the southern extremity of South America, were at first named the *Straits of Vittori*, after the ship which returned; but they soon lost that name, to assume another which becomes them much better, in honour of their discoverer, and have ever since been denominated the *Straits of Magellan.*

This most celebrated voyage took up three years and twenty-seven days, having commenced on the 10th August, 1519, and concluded on the 7th September, 1522. By its success, the skill and penetration of the great Columbus, who, only twenty-seven years before, had first asserted the possibility of its performance, were fully established. One circumstance was discovered in this voyage, which, although reason have taught us to explain, could hardly have been expected *a priori.* On the return of the Spaniards to their own country, they found they had lost a day in their reckoning, owing

owing to the course they had sailed; whereas had they gone by the east, and returned by the west, they would have gained a day in their course.

Another circumstance, which served to heighten the reputation of Magellan, who deserves the sole honour of this voyage, was the difficulty experienced by other able commanders, who endeavoured to follow the course he had pointed out. The first who made the attempt were two Genoese ships in 1526, but unsuccessfully. In 1528, Cortes, the conqueror of Mexico, sent two ships with 400 men, to endeavour to find their way through the straits of Magellan to the Moluccas, but without effect. Sebastian Cabot tried the same thing, by order of Emanuel king of Portugal, but was unable to succeed.

CHAPTER II.

VOYAGE BY SIR FRANCIS DRAKE ROUND THE WORLD, IN 1577-1580.[1]

SECTION I.

Introduction, and Preparation for the Voyage.

In his Annals of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the learned Cambden informs us, that the father of the celebrated Sir Francis Drake was the Rev. Edmund Drake, vicar of Upnore on the river Medway, and says he had this information from Sir Francis himself. Yet the industrious John Stowe says, that he was the eldest of twelve brethren, the sons of Edmund Drake, mariner, at Tavistock in Devonshire, and was born in 1540. Perhaps both accounts may be true; and Mr Edmund Drake, though a mariner originally, may have had a competent share of learning, and may have been admitted to orders on the final establishment of the Reformation.

This celebrated naval hero received the Christian name of Francis from his godfather the earl of Bedford, but does not appear to have derived any great patronage from that nobleman. He was sent young to sea, as an apprentice to the master of a small bark, who traded with France and Zealand; and his master, a bachelor, taking a great affection for him, left him his bark at his death. At eighteen years of age, he was purser of a ship on a voyage to the Bay of Biscay, and at twenty made a voyage to the coast of Guinea. In all these voyages he distinguished himself by extraordinary courage, and by a sagacity beyond his years. In 1565, his

[1] Hakluyt, IV. 232. Harris, I. p. 14. Oxford Coll. II. sect. xvi. Callender's Voy. I. 283. The original account of this voyage was published at London, in 4to, in 1600, and reprinted in 1618.—E.

his laudable desire of glory induced him to venture his all in a voyage to the West Indies, which had no success. In 1567, he served under his kinsman Sir John Hawkins in the bay of Mexico, but was again unfortunate, returning from the voyage rich in character and fame, but with almost ruined circumstances. These disappointments served only to increase his desire of bettering his fortunes at the expence of the grand enemy of his country, against whom he made two other voyages into these parts; the first in 1570 with two ships, the Dragon and Swan, and the second in 1571, in the Swan alone, chiefly for information, that he might qualify himself for undertaking some enterprize of greater importance; which he at length carried into execution with great courage and perseverance.

His character for bravery and seamanship being now established, he soon found a sufficient number of persons willing to adventure a part of their fortunes in a privateering voyage which he proposed. He accordingly sailed from Plymouth on the 24th May, 1572, in the Pasco, a ship only of seventy tons, having for his consort the Swan of 250 tons, commanded by his brother John Drake, with seventy-three men and boys, and provisions for a year. Such were the mighty preparations he had made for attacking the power of Spain in the West Indies, in which he considered himself justified, in order to make reprisals for the losses he had formerly sustained from the Spaniards. In this voyage he surprised and plundered the famous town of Nombre de Dios; and soon afterwards had a distant view of the South Sea from the top of a high tree, which inflamed him with the desire of conducting an English ship thither, which attempt he had perhaps never thought of but for that circumstance.

In this expedition he acquired immense riches for his owners, and considerable wealth for himself; and being of an honourable and generous disposition, he scorned to avail himself of advantages, which most other men would have considered as their right. Of this we have the following remarkable instance. Having presented a cutlass to a captain or caçique of the free Indians inhabiting the isthmus of Darien, the caçique gave him in return four large ingots of gold, which he immediately threw into the common stock, saying, "My owners gave me that cutlass, and it is just they should receive their share of its produce." His return to England from this successful expedition was equally fortu-

 nate,

nate, as he sailed in twenty-three days from Cape Florida to the Scilly islands. Arriving at Plymouth on Sunday, the 9th August, 1573, during divine service, the news of his return was carried to church, on which few persons remained with the preacher, all the congregation running out to welcome the adventurous Drake, who had been absent fourteen months and sixteen days in this voyage.

The wealth he gained in this expedition he generously expended in the service of his country, equipping no less than three frigates at his own expence, which he commanded in person, and with which he contributed materially to the reduction of the rebellion in Ireland, under the supreme command of the earl of Essex. After the death of that nobleman, he chose Sir Christopher Hatton for his patron, then vice-chamberlain to the queen, and afterwards lord high-chancellor of England. By his interest, not without great opposition, captain Drake obtained a commission from queen Elizabeth for the voyage of which it is now proposed to give an account, and which he had long meditated. Being thus provided with the royal authority, his friends contributed largely towards the intended expedition, while he applied himself with all diligence to get every thing in readiness for the important undertaking; having in view to attack the powerful monarchy of Spain, in its richest yet most vulnerable possessions on the western coasts of America, with what would now be considered a trifling squadron of five small barks.

The ships, as they were then called, fitted out for this bold enterprize, were, the Pelican, afterwards named the Hind, of 100 tons, admiral-ship of the squadron, under his own immediate command as captain-general; the Elizabeth, vice-admiral, of 80 tons, commanded by Captain John Winter, who was lieutenant-general of the expedition; the Marigold, a bark of 30 tons, Captain John Thomas; the Swan, a fly-boat of 50 tons, Captain John Chester; and the Christopher, a pinnace of 15 tons, Captain Thomas Moon. These ships were manned with 164 able-bodied men, including officers, and were provided with an ample supply of provisions, ammunition and stores, for so long and dangerous a voyage. Captain Drake likewise provided the frames of four pinnaces, which were stowed on board in pieces, ready to be set up as occasion might require. He is also said to have made provision for ornament and delight, carrying with him a band

of

of musicians, together with rich furniture and much silver-plate, all the vessels for his table, and many of those belonging to the cook-room, being of that metal. This magnificence is stated by his biographers, to have been intended as a display for the honour of his country among foreign nations.

SECTION II.

Narrative of the Voyage from England to the Straits of Magellan.

All things being duly prepared, Captain Drake sailed with his squadron from Plymouth Sound, about five in the afternoon of the 15th November, 1577, giving out that he was bound for Alexandria in Egypt, which had been made the pretended object of the voyage, to prevent the court of Spain from taking measures for its obstruction. In consequence of a violent storm, in which some of the ships sustained damage, he was forced to put into Falmouth haven, whence he returned to Plymouth. Having repaired all defects, he once more set sail on the 13th December of the same year. Avoiding as much as possible to come near the land too early, he fell in with Cape Cantin, on the Barbary coast, on the 25th, and came to the island of Mogadore on the 27th. In the channel of one mile broad, between that island and the main, he found a convenient harbour, where he caused one of his pinnaces to be built.

While thus engaged, some of the inhabitants came to the shore with a flag of truce, on which the admiral sent a boat to enquire what they wanted. One of his men remained as a pledge with the natives, two of whom came off to the ship. These informed the admiral by signs, that they would next day supply the ships with good provisions; in return for which proffered civility, the admiral rewarded them with shoes, some linen, and two javelins, and sent them again on shore. Next day, they came again to the shore, according to promise; on which occasion, an Englishman, named Fry, leapt on shore among them from the boat, considering them as friends; but they perfidiously made him a prisoner, threatening to stab him if he made any resistance. They then mounted him on horseback, and carried him into the interior; but he was afterwards sent back in safety to England.

The

The pinnace being finished, they sailed from Mogadore on the 30th December, and arrived at Cape Blanco on the 17th January, 1578. On the voyage from Mogadore to Cape Blanco, they took three *Canters*, or Spanish fishing-boats, and three caravels. Here they found a Portuguese caravel at anchor, bound to the Cape Verd islands for salt, in which there were only two mariners. They took possession of this ship, and carried her into the harbour of Cape Blanco, where they remained four days, during which time the admiral trained his men on shore, to prepare them for land service on occasion. At this place they took such necessaries as they wanted from the fishermen, as also one of their barks or canters of 40 tons, leaving behind a small bark of their own, called the Benedict. Leaving this place on the 22d January, they were told by the master of the Portuguese caravel, which they carried along with them, that abundance of dried *cabritos* or goats might be procured at Mayo, one of the Cape Verd islands, which were yearly prepared there for the ships belonging to the king of Spain.

They arrived at Mayo on the 27th January, but the inhabitants refused to trade with them, being expressly forbidden to have any intercourse with foreigners, by orders from their sovereign. Next day, however, the admiral sent a company of 72 armed men on shore under the command of Mr Winter and Mr Doughty, to take a view of the island, and to see if any refreshments could be procured. They marched accordingly to the chief place of the island; and, after travelling three days through the mountains, they arrived there before day-break on the fourth day. The inhabitants were all fled, but this part of the island seemed more fertile and better cultivated than any of the rest. They rested here some time, banqueting on delicious grapes, which they found in perfection at that season of the year, though the depth of winter in England. Mayo abounds with goats, wild poultry, and salt; this last being formed in great quantities among the rocks, by the heat of the sun; so that the natives have only the trouble of gathering it into heaps, and sell it to their neighbours, from which they derive great profit. They found here cocoa-nut trees, which have no branches or leaves but at the top of the tree, where the fruit grows in clusters. They then marched farther into the island, where they saw great numbers of goats, but could not get any. They might have furnished themselves with some dried carcasses of old goats, which

which the natives laid purposely in their way; but not caring for the refuse of the island, they returned to the ships.

Leaving Mayo on the 31st of January, they sailed past the island of St Jago, whence three pieces of cannon were fired at them, but without doing any injury. This is a large fine island, inhabited by the Portuguese; but the mountains are said to be still occupied by Moors, who fled thither to deliver themselves from slavery, and have fortified themselves in places of difficult access. Near this island they saw two ships under sail, one of which they took, and it turned out a valuable prize, being laden with wine. The admiral detained this ship, which he committed to the charge of Mr Doughty, and took the Portuguese pilot, named Nuno da Silva into his service, sending the rest away in his pinnace, giving them some provisions, a butt of wine, and their apparel. That same night they came to the island of *Fuego*, or the burning island. It is inhabited by Portuguese, having a volcano on its northern side, which is continually throwing out smoke and flames; yet seems to be reasonably commodious. On the south of Fuego there is a very sweet and pleasant island, called by the Portuguese *Ilha Brava*, the brave or fine island. This is cloathed with evergreen trees, and has many streams of fresh water which run into the sea, and are easily accessible; but it has no convenient road for ships, the sea being every where too deep for anchorage. It is alledged that the summit of Fuego is not higher in the air, than are the roots of Brava low in the sea.

Leaving these islands, and approaching the line, they were sometimes becalmed for a long time together, and at other times vexed with tempests. At all times, when the weather would permit, they had plenty of dolphins, bonitos and flying-fish; several of the last dropping in their flight on the decks, unable to rise again, because their finny wings wanted moisture. Taking their departure from the Cape de Verd islands, they sailed 54 days without seeing land; and at length, on the 5th April, 1578, got sight of the coast of Brazil, in lat. 33° S. The barbarous people on shore, discovering the ships, began to practice their accustomed ceremonies to raise a storm for destroying their ships, making great fires, and offering sacrifices to the devil.[2] The 7th April they had thunder

[2] This idea is uncharitable and absurd, as the navigators could not know any thing of the motives of these fires, and much less about the alleged

thunder, lightning, and rain, during which storm they lost sight of the Christopher, but found her again on the 11th; and the place where all the ships met together, which had been dispersed in search of her, was named Cape *Joy*, at which place the ships took in a supply of fresh water. The country here was pleasant and fertile, with a sweet and temperate climate; but the only inhabitants seen were some herds of deer, though some footsteps of men, apparently of great stature, were noticed on the ground. Having weighed anchor, and sailed a little farther along the coast, they came to a small and safe harbour, formed between a rock and the main, the rock breaking the force of the sea. On this rock they killed some sea-wolves, a species of seals, which they found wholesome food, though not pleasant.

Going next to lat. 36° S. they sailed up the Rio Plata, and came into 53 and 54 fathoms, fresh water, with which they filled their water casks; but finding no convenient harbour, went again to sea on the 27th of April. Sailing still onwards, they came to a good bay, having several islands, one of which was well stocked with seals and the others with sea fowl, so that they had no want of provisions, together with plenty of water. The admiral being ashore on one of these islands, the natives came about him, dancing and skipping in a friendly manner, and willingly bartered any thing they had for toys; but they had the strange custom of refusing to accept of any thing, unless first thrown down on the ground. They were a comely strong-bodied people, swift of foot, and of lively dispositions. The Marigold and Christopher were dispatched in search of a convenient harbour, and soon returned with news of having found one, into which all the ships removed. Here the seals were so numerous, that above 200 were killed in about an hour. The natives came boldly about them, while working ashore, having their faces painted, their only apparel being a covering of skin with the fur on, wrapped about their waists, and a kind of wreaths round their heads. Each man had a bow, about an ell long, and only two arrows. They even seemed to have some notion of military discipline, as they ranged their men in an orderly manner; and they gave sufficient proof of their agility, by stealing

sacrifices. The fires might have been friendly signals, inviting them on shore.—E.

stealing the admiral's hat from his head, which could not be recovered.[3] While in this bay, the admiral took every thing out of the fly-boat that could be of any use; she was then laid on shore and burnt, and all her iron work saved for future use.

Sailing from this place, the fleet came to anchor in Port St Julian on the 20th June, where they saw the gibbet still standing, on which Magellan had formerly executed some of his mutinous company. Here also Admiral Drake executed one Captain Doughty, the most suspected action of his life. Mr Doughty had been guilty of certain actions, tending towards contention or mutiny, and was found guilty partly on his own confession, and partly by proof, taken in good order and as near as might be according to the forms of the law of England. Having received the communion from Mr Fletcher, chaplain of the admiral's ship, in which Captain Drake participated along with him; and after embracing Drake, and taking leave of all the company, Mr Doughty prayed fervently for the welfare of the queen and whole realm, then quietly laid his head on the block. The general then made a speech to the whole company assembled, exhorting them to unity and obedience, sacredly protesting that he had great private affection for Mr Doughty, and had been solely actuated in condemning him to an ignominious death, by his care for the welfare of the voyage, the satisfaction of her majesty, and the honour of his country.

Leaving this place on the 17th August, they fell in with the eastern entrance of the Straits of Magellan on the 20th of that month. The 21st they entered the straits, which they found very intricate, with various crooked turnings; owing to which, having often to shift their course, the wind was frequently adverse, making their passage troublesome and dangerous, especially in sudden blasts of wind; for, although there were several good harbours, the sea was too deep for anchorage, except in some narrow creeks or inlets, or between rocks. On both sides of the straits, there are vast mountains covered with snow, their tops reaching in many places to great heights, having often two or three ranges of clouds below their summits. The air in the straits was extremely cold, with

3 Harris observes, that these were of the nation named Patagons by Magellan. But no notice is taken of their stature being above the ordinary height.—E.

with almost continual frost and snow; yet the trees and plants retained a constant verdure, growing and flourishing in spite of the severity of the climate. At the south and east parts of the straits there are various islands, through between which the sea breaks in, as at the main entrance. The breadth of the straits in some places was only a league, which was the narrowest, but in most places two, and in some three leagues across. The 24th August, they came to an island in the straits, where they found vast quantities of penguins, a sort of water fowl, as large as a goose, but which does not fly, and of which they killed 3000 in less than a day.

SECTION III.

Incidents of the Voyage, from the Straits of Magellan to New Albion.

The 6th September, they reached the western extremity of the straits, and entered into the great South Sea or Pacific Ocean. On the 7th, the fleet encountered a storm, by which they were driven one degree to the southwards of the straits, and more than 200 leagues in longitude back from that entrance.[1] They were driven even so far as the lat. of 57° 20′ S. where they anchored among the islands, finding good fresh water and excellent herbs.[2] Not far from thence, they entered another bay, where they found naked people, ranging about the islands in canoes, in search of provisions, with whom they had some intercourse by way of barter. Continuing their course towards the north, they discovered three islands on the 3d October, in one of which there was an incredible number of birds. On the 8th October, they lost company of the Elizabeth, the vice admiral, commanded by Captain Winter. At his return home, they found that Mr Winter had been forced to take refuge from the storm in the straits, whence he returned to England, though many of us feared he and his people had perished.

Having

[1] This is a gross error, probably a misprint for 20 leagues of longitude, as the quantity in the text would have driven them far to the eastwards of the straits, into the Atlantic, which is impossible, the whole of Tierra del Fuego being interposed.—E.

[2] This too is erroneous, as Cape Horn, not then known, is only in lat. 55° 58′ 30′ S.

Having now got back to the western entrance of the straits, they made sail for the coast of Chili, which the general maps represented as trending N. W. but which they found to the east of N. so that these coasts had not been fully discovered, or very inaccurately represented, for the space of 12 degrees at least, either for the purpose to deceive, or through ignorance. Proceeding northwards along the coast of Chili, they came to the island of Mocha, in 38° 30′ S. latitude, on the 29th November, where they cast anchor. The admiral went here ashore with ten men, and found the island inhabited by a people who had fled from the extreme cruelty of the Spaniards, leaving their original habitations on the continent, to enjoy their lives and liberties in security. These people at first behaved civilly to the admiral and his men, bringing them potatoes and two fat sheep, promising also to bring them water, and they received some presents in return. Next day, however, when two men went ashore with barrels for water, the natives suddenly assailed and killed them. The reason of this outrage was, that they mistook the English for Spaniards, whom they never spare when they fall into their hands.

Continuing their course along the coast of Chili, they met an Indian in a canoe, who mistook them for Spaniards, and told them of a great Spanish ship at St Jago, laden for Peru. Rewarding him for this intelligence, the Indian conducted them to where the ship lay at anchor, in the port of Valparaiso, in lat. 33° 40′ S.[3] All the men on board were only eight Spaniards and three negroes, who, supposing the English to have been friends, welcomed them with beat of drum, and invited them on board to drink Chili wine. The English immediately boarded and took possession; when one of the Spaniards leapt overboard, and swam ashore to give notice of the coming of the English. On this intelligence, all the inhabitants of the town, being only about nine families, escaped into the country. The admiral and his men landed, and rifled the town and its chapel, from which they took a silver chalice, two cruets, and an altar cloth. They found also in the town a considerable store of Chili wine, with many boards of cedar wood, all of which they carried on board their ships. Then setting all the prisoners on shore, except one

[3] More correctly, 33° 00′ 30″ S. and long. 71° 38′ 30″ W. from Greenwich.—E.

one named John Griego, born in Greece, who was detained as a pilot, the admiral directed his course for Lima, the capital of Peru, under the guidance of this new pilot.

Being now at sea, they examined the booty in their prize, in which they found 25,000 pezos of pure gold of Baldivia, amounting to above 37,000 Spanish ducats. Continuing their course for Lima, they put into the harbour of Coquimbo, in lat. 29° 54′ S. where the admiral sent fourteen men on shore for water. This small company being espied by the Spaniards, they collected 300 horse and 200 foot, and slew one of the Englishmen, the rest getting back to the ship. From thence they went to a port named *Tarapaca* in Peru, in lat. 20° 15′ S. where landing, a Spaniard was found asleep on the shore, having eighteen bars of silver lying beside him, worth about 4000 Spanish ducats, which they carried away, leaving him to his repose. Going again on shore, not far from thence, in search of water, they met a Spaniard and an Indian, driving eight Peruvian sheep, laden with fine silver, each sheep having two leather bags on his back, in each of which were about fifty pounds weight. These they carried on board, finding in the whole of these bags 800 pounds weight of silver. From thence they went to *Arica*, in lat. 18° 40′ S. in which port they plundered three small barks of fifty-seven bars of silver, each bar being in shape and size like a brickbat, and weighing about twenty pounds. Not having sufficient strength, they did not assault the town, but put again to sea, where they met another small bark, laden with linen, part of which was taken out, and the bark dismissed.

They came to Calao, the port of Lima, in lat. 12° 10′ S. on the 13th February, 1579, where they found twelve ships at anchor, with all their sails down, without watch or guard, all their masters and merchants being on shore. On examining the contents of these ships, they found a chest full of dollars, with great store of silks and linen, and carried away all the silver, and part of the other goods to their own ships. Here the admiral got notice of a very rich ship, called the Cacafuego, which had sailed for Paita, in lat. 5° 10′ S. Pursuing her thither, they learnt, before arriving at Paita, that she had sailed for Panama. In continuing the pursuit to Panama, they took another, which paid them well for their trouble; as, besides her ropes and other tackle, she yielded eighty pounds weight of gold, together with a large golden crucifix, richly adorned with emeralds.

Continuing

Continuing to pursue the Cacafuego, the admiral promised to give his gold chain to the first person who descried the chase, which fell to the share of Mr John Drake, who first discovered her, one morning about three o'clock. They came up with her about six, gave her three shots, which struck down her mizen-mast, and then boarded. They found this ship fully as rich as she was reported, having thirteen chests full of dollars, eighty pounds weight of gold, a good quantity of jewels, and twenty-six tons of silver in bars.[4] Among other rich pieces of plate found in this ship, there were two very large gilt silver bowls, which belonged to her pilot. On seeing these, the admiral said to the pilot, that these were fine bowls, and he must needs have one of them; to which the pilot yielded, not knowing how to help himself; but, to make this appear less like compulsion, he gave the other to the admiral's steward. The place where this rich prize was taken was off Cape San Francisco, about 150 leagues from Panama, and in lat. 1° N. [00° 45'.] When the people of the prize were allowed to depart, the pilot's boy told the admiral, that the English ship ought now to be called the *Cacafuego,* not theirs, as it had got all their rich loading, and that their unfortunate ship ought now to be called the *Cacaplata,* which jest excited much mirth.[5]

Having ransacked the Cacafuego of every thing worth taking, she was allowed to depart; and continuing their course westwards, they next met a ship laden with cotton goods, China dishes, and China silks. Taking from the Spanish owner a falcon of massy gold, having a large emerald set in his breast, and chusing such other wares as he liked, the admiral allowed this ship to continue her voyage, only detaining her pilot for his own use. This pilot brought them to the harbour of Guatalca, in the town adjacent to which, he said, there were only seventeen Spaniards. Going there on shore, they marched directly to the town-house, where they found a judge sitting, and ready to pass sentence on a parcel of negroes, who were accused of plotting to set the town on fire. But the arrival of the admiral changed affairs, for he made both the judge and the criminals prisoners, and carried

[4] Without calculating on the jewels, for which there are no data, the silver and gold of this prize could hardly fall short of 250,000*l.*—worth more than a million, in effective value, of the present day.—E.

[5] This forecastle joke turns on the meaning of the words, Cacafuego and Cacaplata, meaning Fartfire and Fartsilver.—*Harris.*

carried them all aboard the ships. He then made the judge write to the citizens, to keep at a distance, and make no resistance; after which the town was plundered, but the only thing valuable was about a bushel of Spanish dollars, or rials of plate. One of the people took a rich Spaniard fleeing out of town, who ransomed himself by giving up a gold chain and some jewels. At this place the admiral set some of his Spanish prisoners ashore, together with the old Portuguese pilot he took at the Cape Verd islands, and departed from thence for the island of Cano. While there, he captured a Spanish ship bound for the Philippine islands, which he lightened of part of her merchandise, and allowed her to proceed. At this place the admiral landed every thing out of his own ship, and then laid her on shore, where she was repaired and graved; after which they laid in a supply of wood and water.

Thinking he had in some measure revenged the public injuries of his country upon the Spaniards, as well as his own private losses, the admiral began to deliberate about returning home; but was in some hesitation as to the course he ought to steer. To return by the Straits of Magellan, the only passage yet discovered, he concluded would throw himself into the hands of the Spaniards, who would probably there waylay him with a greatly superior force, having now only one ship left, which was by no means strong, though very rich.[6] He therefore, on maturely weighing all circumstances, determined to proceed by way of the Moluccas, and following the course of the Portuguese, to get home by the Cape of Good Hope. Endeavouring to put this design in execution, but being becalmed, he found it necessary to steer more northwardly along the coast of America, in order to get a wind; in which view he sailed at least 600 leagues, which was all the way he was able to make between the 16th of April and the 3d June.

On the 5th June, being in lat. 43° N. they found the air excessively cold, and the severity of the weather almost intolerable; for which reason they returned along the coast to the southward, till in lat. 38° N. where they found a very good

[6] We have no account of the loss of any of the squadron, except that the Elizabeth was lost sight of after passing the Straits of Magellan. Perhaps the other vessels had been destroyed, to reinforce the crew of the Hind, weakened by the diseases incident to long voyages.—E.

good bay, which they entered with a favourable wind.[7] The English had here a good deal of intercourse with the natives, whose huts were scattered along the shores of this bay. These people brought presents of feathers and net-work to the admiral, who entertained them with so much kindness, that they were infinitely pleased. Though the country is very cold, the natives contrive to erect their houses in a very ingenious manner to defend themselves from the severity of the weather. Surrounding them by a deep trench, they raise great pieces of timber on its outer edge, which close all in a point at the top, like the spire of a steeple. Their fire is in the middle of this conical hut, and they sleep on the ground strewed with rushes, around the fire. The men go naked, but the women wear a kind of petticoat of bull-rushes, dressed in the manner of hemp, which is fastened round their waists, and reaches down to their hips; having likewise a deer-skin on their shoulders. The good qualities of these women make amends for their ordinary dress and figure, as they are very dutiful to their husbands.

Soon after his arrival, the admiral received a present from the natives of feathers and bags of tobacco, which was given in much form by a numerous concourse of the Indians. These convened on the top of a hill or rising ground, whence one of their number harangued the admiral, whose tent was pitched at the bottom of the hill. When this speech was ended, they all laid down their weapons on the summit of the hill, whence they descended and offered their presents, at the same time civilly returning those which the admiral had before given them. All this time the native women remained on the top of the hill, where they seemed as if possessed, tearing their hair, and howling in a most savage manner. This is the ordinary music of their sacrifices, something of that nature being then solemnizing. While the women above were thus serving the devil, the men below were better employed, in listening attentively to divine service, then performing in the admiral's tent. These circumstances, though trivial in themselves, are important in ascertaining the first discovery of California by the English.

News

[7] This bay of Sir Francis Drake, on the western coast of North America, is nearly in lat. 38° N. as stated in the text, and long. 122° 15′ W. from Greenwich. It is now named by the Spaniards, the Bay of San Francisco in California, on the southern side of which they have a mission of the same name.—E.

News of the arrival of the English having spread about the country, two ambassadors came to the admiral, to inform him that the king was coming to wait upon him, and desired to have a token of peace, and assurance of safe conduct. This being given to their satisfaction, the whole train began to move towards the admiral, in good order, and with a graceful deportment. In front came a very comely person, bearing the sceptre before the king, on which hung two crowns, and two chains of great length. The crowns were made of net-work, ingeniously interwoven with feathers of many colours, and the chains were made of bones. Next to the sceptre-bearer came the king, a very comely personage, shewing an air of majesty in all his deportment, surrounded by a guard of tall martial-looking men, all clad in skins. Then followed the common people, who, to make the finer appearance, had painted their faces, some black, and some of other colours. All of them had their arms full of presents, even the children not excepted.

The admiral drew up all his men in line of battle, and stood ready to receive them within his fortifications. At some distance from him, the whole train of natives made a halt, all preserving the most profound silence, except the sceptre-bearer, who made a speech of half an hour. He then, from an orator, became a dancing-master, and struck up a song, being joined in both by the king, lords, and common people, who came all singing and dancing up to the fences which the admiral had thrown up. The natives then all sat down; and, after some preliminary compliments, the king made a solemn offer of his whole kingdom and its dependencies to the admiral, desiring him to assume the sovereignty, and professing himself his most loyal subject; and, that this might not seem mere empty compliment, he took off his illustrious crown of feathers from his own head, with the consent and approbation of all his nobles there present, and placing it on the head of the admiral, invested him with all the other ensigns of royalty, constituting the admiral, as far as in him lay, king of the whole country. The admiral, as her majesty's representative, accepted of this new-offered dignity in her name and behalf; as from this donation, whether made in jest or earnest, it was probable that some real advantage might redound hereafter to the English nation in these parts. After this ceremony, the common people dispersed themselves about the English encampment, expressing their admiration

miration and respect for the English in a most violent and even profane manner, even offering sacrifices to them, as in the most profound devotion, till they were repressed by force, with strong expressions of abhorrence, and directed to pay their adorations to the supreme Creator and Preserver of all things, whom only they ought to honour with religious worship.[8]

After this ceremony, the admiral and some of his people penetrated to some distance into the interior country, which they found to be extremely full of large fat deer, often seeing about a thousand in one herd. There were also such immense numbers of rabbits, that the whole country seemed one vast warren. These rabbits were of the size of those of Barbary, having heads like our own rabbits in England, with feet like those of a mole, and long tails like rats. Under the chin on each side, they have a bag or pouch in the skin, into which they store up any food they get abroad, which they there preserve for future use. Their flesh is much valued by the natives, and their skins are made into robes for the king and nobles. This country seemed to promise rich veins of gold and silver; as wherever they had occasion to dig, they threw up some of the ores of these metals.[9] Partly in honour of England, and partly owing to the prospect of white cliffs which this country presented from the sea, the admiral named this region New Albion. Before his departure, he erected a monument, on which was a large plate, engraven with the name, picture, and arms of queen Elizabeth, the title of her majesty to the sovereignty of the country, the time of its discovery, and Drake's own name. In this country the Spaniards had never had the smallest footing, neither had they discovered this coast of America, even for several degrees to the southwards of New Albion.

SECTION

[8] The whole of this story, of a king and his nobles, and the investiture of Drake in the sovereignty of California, which he named New Albion, is so completely absurd as not to merit serious observation.—E.

[9] This surely is a gross falsehood, as even the Spaniards, so much experienced in mines of the precious metals, have found none in California, though possessing missions among its rude and scanty population in every corner, even in this very spot.—E.

SECTION IV.

Continuation of the Voyage, from New Albion to England.

SAILING from this port of New Albion, [now called by the Spaniards the Bay of San Francisco,] they had no sight of land till the 13th October, 1579, when, in the morning of that day, they fell in with certain islands in lat. 8° N.[1] They here met many canoes, laden with cocoa-nuts and other fruits. These canoes were very artificially hollowed, and were smooth and shining, like polished horn. Their prows and sterns were all turned circularly inwards; and on each side there lay out two pieces of timber, or out-riggers, a yard and a half long, more or less, according the size of the canoes. They were of considerable height in the gunwales; and their insides were ornamented with white shells. The islanders in these canoes had large holes in the lower parts of their ears, which reached down a considerable way, by the weight of certain ornaments. Their teeth were as black as jet, occasioned by chewing a certain herb with a sort of powder, which they always carry with them for that purpose.[2]

The 18th October they came to other islands, some of which appeared to be very populous, and continued their course past the islands of *Tagulada, Zelon*, and *Zewarra.* The first of these produces great store of cinnamon; and the inhabitants are in friendship with the Portuguese. Without making any stop at these islands, the admiral continued his course, and fell in with the Moluccas on the 14th November. Intending to steer for Tidore, and coasting along the island of Motir, which belongs to the king of Ternate, they met the viceroy of that king, who came fearlessly on board the admiral's ship. He advised the admiral by no means to prosecute his voyage to Tidore, but to sail directly for Ternate, as the king, his master, was a great enemy to the Portuguese, and would have no intercourse with him, if at all connected with Tidore or the Portuguese. Upon this, the admiral resolved

[1] These probably were some of the Caralines, being in the direct route from Port Sir Francis Drake to the Moluccas.—E.

[2] Areka nut and betel leaf, with pounded shell-lime.—E.

resolved on going to Tidore, and came to anchor before the town early next morning.

He immediately sent a messenger to the king, with a present of a velvet cloak, and to assure him that his only purpose in coming to his island was to trade in a friendly manner. By this time the viceroy had been to the king, whom he had disposed to entertain a favourable opinion of the English, so that the king returned a very civil and obliging answer, assuring the admiral that a friendly intercourse with the English was highly pleasing to him, his whole kingdom, and all that it contained, being at his service; and that he was ready to lay himself and his dominions at the feet of the glorious queen of England, and to acknowledge her as his sovereign. In token of all this, he sent his signet to the admiral, delivering it with much respect to the messenger, who was treated with great pomp and ceremony at court.

Having a mind to visit the admiral on board ship, the king sent before hand four large canoes, filled with his most dignified attendants, all in white dresses, and having large awnings of perfumed mats borne over their heads on a frame of canes or bamboos. They were surrounded by servants, all in white; outside of whom were ranks of soldiers, and beyond them were many rowers in well-contrived galleries, three of these on each side all along the canoes, raised one above the other, each gallery containing eighty rowers.[3] These canoes were well furnished with warlike implements and all kind of weapons, both offensive and defensive, and were filled with soldiers well appointed for war. Rowing near the ship in great order, they paid their reverence to the admiral, saying that their king had sent them to conduct his ship into a safer road than that it now occupied.

The king himself came soon afterwards, attended upon by six grave and ancient persons. He seemed much delighted with English music, and still more with English generosity, which the admiral expressed in large presents to him and his attendants. The king promised to come aboard again next day, and that same night sent off great store of provisions, as rice, poultry, sugar, cloves, a sort of fruit called *Frigo*, and *Sago*, which is a meal made out of the tops of trees, melting in the mouth like sugar, and tasting like sour curds, but when made

[3] This surely is a great exaggeration, employing 480 rowers to each canoe.—E.

made into cakes will keep fit for eating at the end of ten years. The king did not come on board next day, according to promise, but sent his brother to excuse him, and to invite the admiral on shore, while he remained as a pledge for his safe return. The admiral declined going ashore himself, but sent some gentlemen of his retinue along with the king's brother, detaining the viceroy till their return.

They were received on shore by another of the king's brothers with several nobles, and conducted in great state to the castle, where there was a court of at least a thousand persons, the principal of whom were sixty grave counsellors, and four Turkish envoys dressed in scarlet robes and turbans, who were there to negociate trade between the Turkish empire and Ternate. The king came in under a glorious canopy, embroidered with gold, and guarded by twelve men armed with lances. He was dressed in a loose robe of cloth of gold, having his legs bare, but with leather shoes or slippers on his feet. Several circular ornaments of gold were braided among his hair, a large chain of gold hung from his neck, and his fingers were adorned with rich jewels. A page stood at the right-hand side of his chair of state, blowing cool air upon him with a fan, two feet long and a foot broad, curiously embroidered, and enriched with sapphires. The English gentlemen were kindly received; and, having heard their message, he sent one of his counsellors to conduct them back to the ships. The king of Ternate is a prince of great power, having seventy islands under his authority, besides Ternate, which is the best of the Molucca islands. His religion, and that of all his subjects, is Mahometism, in obedience to which they keep the new moons and many fasts, during which they mortify the flesh all the day, but make up for their abstemiousness by feasting in the night.

Having dispatched all his affairs at Ternate, the admiral left the place, and sailed to a small island to the southwards of Celebes, where he remained twenty-six days. This island is all covered with wood, the trees being of large size, tall, straight, and without boughs, except at the top, the leaves resembling our English broom. There were here vast numbers of shining flies, no bigger than our common flies in England, which, skimming at night among the trees and bushes, made them appear as if all on fire. The bats in this island were as large as our ordinary poultry, and there was a sort of land cray-fish, which burrowed in the ground like rabbits,

rabbits, being so large that one of them was a sufficient meal for four persons.

Setting sail from thence, and being unable to proceed westwards on account of the wind, the course was altered to the southwards, yet with much danger, by reason of the shoals which lie thick among these islands. Of this they had most dangerous and almost fatal experience on the 9th January, 1580, by running upon a rock, on which they stuck fast from eight at night till four in the afternoon of next day. In this distress, the ship was lightened by landing three tons of cloves, eight pieces of ordnance, and some provisions on the rock; soon after which, by the wind chopping round, they happily got off.

On the 18th of February, they fell in with the fruitful island of *Baratene*,[4] having in the mean time suffered much from cross winds and dangerous shoals. They met with a friendly reception from the people of this island, who were handsomely proportioned, and just in all their dealings. The men wore no cloathing, except a slight covering round their middles, but the women were covered from the waist to the feet, having likewise many large heavy bracelets of bone, horn, or brass, on their arms, the smallest weighing two ounces, and having eight or ten of these on at once. This island affords gold, silver, copper, sulphur, nutmegs, ginger, long-pepper, lemons, cocoas, *frigo*, sago, and other commodities, and linen was found to be in much request by the natives, as of it they make girdles and rolls for wearing on their heads. Among the productions of this island, there was a particular sort of fruit, resembling barberries in size, form, and husk, very hard, yet of a pleasant taste, and becoming soft and easy of digestion when boiled. In short, they met with no place in the whole voyage that yielded greater abundance of every comfort than this island, excepting Ternate.

Leaving Baratene, they sailed to Java Major, where also they were courteously and honourably entertained. This island was ruled over by six kings, who lived in entire peace and amity with each other, and they once had four of them on board at one time, and very often two or three together.[5] The

[4] No circumstance in the text serves to indicate what island is here meant, except that it appears to have been to the eastward of Java.—E.

[5] The names of the kings or princes of Java, when Sir Francis Drake was there, were Rajah Donaw, R. Rabacapala, R. Bacabatra, R. Tymbanton, R. Mawgbange, and R. Patemara.—*Hakluyt*.

The Javans are a stout and warlike people, well armed with swords, targets, and daggers, all of their own manufacture, and are very curious and ingenious, both in the fashion of their weapons, and in giving them an excellent tepmer. They wear turbans on their heads, the upper parts of their bodies being naked; but, from the waist downwards, they have a pintado, or a silken wrapper, trailing on the ground. They manage their women quite differently from the Moluccans; for, while these will hardly let them be seen by a stranger, the Javans will very civilly offer a female bedfellow to a traveller. Besides being thus civil and hospitable to strangers, they are good humoured and sociable among themselves; for in every village they have a public-house, where the inhabitants meet together, each bringing their shares of provisions, and joining the whole in one social feast for the keeping up of good fellowship.

The Javans have a peculiar mode of boiling rice. It is put into an earthen pot of a conical form, open at the large end, and perforated all over with small holes, which is placed within a larger earthen pot full of boiling water. The rice swells and fills the holes of the inner pot, so that very little water gets in, and by this mode of boiling the rice is brought to a firm consistency, and cakes into a sort of bread, of which, with butter or oil, sugar, and spices, they make several very pleasant dishes. The lues venerea prevails among the inhabitants of this island; but, instead of expelling the poison by salivation, they drive it out by perspiration, sitting for this purpose in the sun for some hours, by which the pores are opened, giving free vent to the noxious particles of the disease.

While in Java, the following words in the native language were taken notice of, and are recorded by Hukluyt.

Sabuck,	silk.	Gula,	black sugar.
Sagu,	bread.	Tadon,	a woman.
Larnike,	drink.	Bebeck,	a duck.
Paree,	rice in the husk.	Aniange,	a deer.
Braas,	boiled rice.	Popran,	ointment.
Calapa,	cocoa nuts.	Coar,	the head.
Cricke,	a dagger.	Endam,	rain.
Catcha,	a mirror.	Jonge,	a ship.
Arbo,	an ox.	Chay,	the sea.
Vados,	a goat.	Sapelo,	ten.

Gardunge,

Gardunge,	a plantain.	Dopolo,	twenty.
Hiam,	a hen.	Treda,	no.
Seuit,	linen.	Lau,	understand you?
Doduck,	blue cloth.	Bayer,	go!
Totoppo,	a cap.	Adadizano,	I will fetch it.
Cabo,	gold.	Suda,	enough.

Having news of some great ships being at no great distance, and not knowing whether they might prove friends or enemies, the admiral set sail from Java, sailing directly for the Cape of Good Hope, which was the first land he fell in with; neither did he touch at any, till he arrived at Sierra Leona on the coast of Guinea. He passed the cape on the 18th June, 1580, and by the facility of the navigation round that southern promontory of Africa, found how much the Portuguese had imposed upon the world by false representations of its horrors and dangers. He arrived at Sierra Leona on the 22d July, where were elephants, and abundance of oysters fastened on the twigs of trees, hanging down into the water, where they grow and multiply. With these, and lemons, with which they were abundantly supplied, his people were much refreshed.

After two days stay at that place, taking in a supply of wood and water, and procuring refreshments, they sailed from thence on the 24th July. Next day, they were in lat. 23° 30′ N. under the tropic of Cancer, fifty leagues from land. Being completely supplied with all necessaries, they continued their voyage, without stopping any where, and arrived at Plymouth on Monday the 26th of September, 1580, having been absent two years, nine months, and thirteen days. By their reckoning, the day of their arrival was only Sunday the 25th, as in going completely round the world in the same course with the sun, that luminary had risen once seldomer to them than to those who remained stationary, so that they had lost a day in their computation.

SECTION

SECTION V.

Reception of Sir Francis Drake in England, and some Notices of his remaining Actions.

The fame of his return from this wonderful voyage round the world soon spread over England, and all strove to express their sense of the worthiness of Captain Drake, by praises and other testimonies of regard. Several collections were made of poems, epigrams, and songs, celebrating him and his ship in the highest strains. Yet, in the midst of almost universal applause, some endeavoured to censure his conduct, and to place this great exploit in a wrong light. These persons alleged, that his circumnavigation of the globe served only to amuse the minds of the vulgar, while the main purpose of the voyage had been plunder, of which they pretended he had acquired sufficient to exempt the nation from taxes for seven years. They also set forth, as war had not been proclaimed against Spain, that it was dangerous to own such an adventurer, lest the nation might be made to pay dearly for his prizes: For, as the merchants had great effects in Spain, their goods might possibly be seized to make good his depredations.

The Spanish ambassador also assailed him with very warm memorials, styling him the Master Thief of the Unknown World. The friends and patrons of Drake, finding themselves wounded through his sides, took all manner of pains to vindicate his conduct, alleging that he had the queen's commission and authority to justify him in making reprisals; that by so much wealth as he had brought home the nation would be enriched; that the Spaniards had already done us much injury; and, if the king of Spain were disposed to seize the effects of our merchants, the public ought to receive this treasure as an equivalent; which, were it returned, would break the spirit of our brave tars, who otherwise were more likely to humble the pride of the Spaniards.

In the mean time, matters remained long in suspense, during which Drake must have suffered considerable anxiety, lest, after all his toils abroad, he might be deemed a pirate at home. The queen long delayed to declare her sentiments, perhaps wishing to see what effects her conduct might have

with the court of Spain, which was probably withheld from precipitating hostilities, by the hope of being able to recover this great treasure. To keep up this hope, she artfully consented to part with some small sums to Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador. At length, matters coming to a crisis, she threw off the veil, and giving notice to Captain Drake of her intentions, she visited him on the 4th April, 1581, on board his ship, then at Deptford, where she was magnificently entertained; and, after dinner, she was graciously pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on Captain Drake, telling him that his actions did him more honour than the title she had conferred. A prodigious crowd attended the queen on this occasion, so that the bridge laid from the ship to the shore broke down with their weight, and more than 200 persons fell into the Thames, yet no one was drowned, or even materially hurt. After this public approbation from the sovereign, all ranks of people redoubled their congratulations, and henceforward the reputation of Sir Francis Drake continually increased, so that he became a kind of oracle in maritime affairs, both to the nation and the court.—Here, strictly speaking, we ought to conclude our account of this illustrious navigator; yet it may not be amiss to give a short sketch of his succeeding actions.

The war with Spain still continuing, he went out in 1585, general by sea and land, of an expedition to the West Indies, where he took the cities of St Jago, St Domingo, and Carthagena, and the fort and town of St Augustine; returning from this expedition with great glory and advantage, the profits amounting to £60,000, after defraying all charges, of which £20,000 were divided among the seamen, and £40,000 came clear to the undertakers or adventurers. In 1587, he had the command of another fleet, with which he sailed to the bay of Cadiz, and thence to the Tagus, where he destroyed 10,000 tons of shipping, which the king of Spain had collected for the purpose of invading England. He likewise brought home the St Philip, a very rich prize, said by the writers of these times to have been the first carack ever taken and brought home to England.

In the glorious year 1588, by commission from the queen, Sir Francis Drake was appointed vice-admiral of the fleet of England, then fitted out for opposing the *invincible* Spanish Armada. In this arduous service, on which the independence and existence of England depended, he performed

even

even more than his former actions gave reason to expect. In the very beginning of the fight, he captured two very large ships of war, one commanded by the Spanish vice-admiral Oquendas, and the other by Don Pedro de Valdez. This latter officer defended his ship with great gallantry for a long time; and at length, on surrendering, and delivering his sword to Sir Francis, he addressed him to the following effect: "That they had all resolved to have died fighting, if they had not fallen into his hands, whose valour and fortune were so great, that Mars and Neptune seemed to aid him in all his enterprizes." To requite these Spanish compliments with solid English kindness, Sir Francis lodged Don Valdez in his own cabin, and entertained him at his table. Drake's crew were recompensed by the plunder of the Spanish ship, in which were found 55,000 ducats in gold, which they joyfully shared. Sir Francis performed many other signal services on this memorable occasion against the Armada, and particularly distinguished himself by advising the employment of fire-ships, which some have alleged he then invented.

He was next year admiral of a great fleet, sent to Portugal for the purpose of restoring Don Antonio to the throne of that kingdom. This expedition, though it did not succeed in its grand object, occasioned considerable damage to Spain, on which it retorted the compliment of an invasion, and by which it was rendered unable to repeat another attempt of the same nature. On the whole, therefore, Sir Francis spoiled no less than three Spanish invasions. In 1595, he went upon another conjunct expedition against the Spanish West Indies, in which he performed signal services; but aiming at still greater, and being unsuccessful, he died in the harbour of Porto Bello, on the 28th of January, 1596, as is said, of a broken heart, occasioned by his disappointment. His body, being put into a leaden coffin, was committed to the deep, under a general discharge of all the artillery of the fleet. In his person, though of low stature, Sir Francis Drake was well made, with a fresh and fair complexion, having large lively eyes, light-brown hair, and an open cheerful countenance. He was naturally eloquent, gracefully expressing what he clearly conceived. He was thoroughly versant, not only in the practical part of his profession, but in all the sciences connected with it, being able to

to discharge all the offices necessary in a ship as occasion required, even that of the surgeon. In his conduct as a naval commander he was skilful and valiant, just to his owners, kind to his seamen, loyal to his sovereign, and merciful to his enemies after victory. His many glorious exploits justly entitle him to high fame; and he died, at fifty-five, in the ardent pursuit of glory, in the cause of his queen and country.

The fame of this Voyage round the World, with the wealth brought home by Sir Francis Drake, and the desire of rivalling him in riches and reputation, inspired numbers of young men of all ranks with the inclination of trying their fortunes at sea. Men of rank and fortune fitted out ships at their own expence, manning them with their dependants. Others, in lower situations, hazarded their persons as subaltern officers in these ships, or in men-of-war belonging to the queen. This spirit grew to such a height, that honest John Stowe informs us, that there were many youths, from eighteen to twenty years of age, towards the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign, who were capable of taking charge of any ship, and navigating to most parts of the world.

So alarmed were the Spaniards by the courage and conduct of Sir Francis, and his maritime skill, that they ordered that no draughts or discourses should be published of their discoveries in America, lest they might fall into his hands. What most surprised them was, that he should find his way so easily through the Straits of Magellan, which they had hitherto been unable to perform. They therefore resolved immediately to have these straits completely explored and discovered, by means of ships fitted out in Peru. For this purpose, Don Pedro Sarmiento, who was thought the best seaman in the Spanish service, was sent from Lima, and actually passed from the South Sea into the Atlantic, and thence to Spain. He there proposed to plant a colony in the straits, and to fortify them in such a manner as might prevent all other nations from passing through them. This project was so well relished by Philip II. that a fleet of twenty-three ships was fitted out, with 3,500 men, under the command of Don Diego Floris de Valdez; and Sarmiento, with 500 veterans, was appointed to form a settlement in the straits.

This

This fleet was extremely unfortunate, insomuch that it was between two and three years before Sarmiento arrived with his people in the straits of Magellan. On the north side, and near the eastern entrance, he built a town and fort, which he named Nombre de Jesus, and in which he left a garrison of 150 men. Fifteen leagues farther on, at the narrowest part of the straits, and in lat. 53° 18′ S.[1] he established his principal settlement, which he named *Ciudad del Rey Felippe,* or the City of King Philip. This was a regularly fortified square fortress, having four bastions: and is said to have been in all respects one of the best-contrived settlements ever made by the Spaniards in America. At this place Sarmiento left a garrison of 400 men and thirty women, with provisions for eight months, and then returned into the Atlantic. These transactions took place in the years 1584, 5, and 6. Sarmiento, after several fruitless attempts to succour and relieve his colony, was taken by an English vessel, and sent prisoner to London.

The Spanish garrison, having consumed all their provisions, died mostly of hunger, perhaps aided by the scurvy, in their new city. Twenty-three men quitted it, endeavouring to find their way by land to the Spanish settlements, but are supposed to have all perished by the way, as they were never more heard of. Sarmiento fell into discredit with the king of Spain, for deceiving him as to the breadth of the straits, which he asserted did not exceed a mile over; whereas the king was certainly informed that they were a league broad, and therefore incapable of being shut up by any fortifications. However this may be, even supposing the report of Sarmiento true, and that his fortress could have commanded the straits, even this could have proved of little or no service to Spain, as another passage into the South Sea was discovered soon afterwards, without the necessity of going near these straits.

[1] The Narrows of the Hope are eighteen leagues of Castile, or about forty-eight English miles from Cape Virgin, the northern cape at the eastern mouth of the straits, in lat. 52° 5′ S. long. 69° W. from Greenwich.—E.

Section VI.

First Supplement to the Voyage of Sir Francis Drake; being an Account of Part of the foregoing Navigation, by Nuno da Silva.[1]

Nuna da Silva, born in Oporto, a citizen and inhabitant of Guaia, saith, that on the 19th January, 1578, while at anchor with his ship in the harbour of St Jago, one of the Cape de Verd islands, he was made prisoner by the admiral of six English ships, and detained because discovered to be a pilot for the coast of Brazil. Setting sail, therefore, with the said admiral from Brava, they held their course for the land of Brazil, which they descried on the first April, being in the latitude of 30° S. whence they held on their course for the Rio Plata, where they provided themselves with fresh water.

From thence they proceeded to the latitude of 39° S. where they anchored. They here left two of their ships behind them, and continued on with four only, that which had formerly belonged to Nuno being one of these. They next came into a bay, in lat. 49° S. called *Bahia de las Ilhas,* or the Bay of Islands, where Magellan is said to have wintered with his ships, when he went to discover the straits which now bear his name. They entered this bay on the 20th June, and anchored within musket-shot of the shore. They here found Indians cloathed in skins, their legs downwards from the knees, and their arms below the elbows, being naked. These Indians were a subtle, great, and well-formed race, strong, and tall in stature, being armed with bows and arrows. Six of the English going here on shore to fetch water, four of the Indians came into their boat before they landed, to whom the Englishmen gave bread and wine; after eating and drinking of which heartily they went on shore, and when at some distance, one of them cried to them, and said, *Magallanes! este he minha terra;* that is, Magellan, this is my country. Being followed by the sailors, they slew two of

[1] Hakluyt, IV. 246.—This narrative was written by Nuno da Silva, the Portuguese pilot who accompanied Sir Francis Drake from the Cape Verd islands to Guatalco on the western coast of New Spain, and was sent from the city of Mexico to the viceroy of Portuguese India, in 1579.—E.

them with their arrows; one of whom was an Englishman, and the other a Hollander; on which the others made their escape to the boat, and put off from the shore.

Leaving this place on the 17th of August, they came to the mouth of the straits on the 21st or 22d, but did not enter them till the 24th, owing to the wind being contrary. The entry into the straits is about a league in breadth, both sides being naked flat land. Some Indians were seen on the north side, making great fires; but none appeared on the south side of the straits. This strait is about 110 leagues long, and a league in breadth; and for about half-way through, is straight and without turnings; from thence, to about eight or ten leagues from the farther end, it has some capes and turnings, at one of which there is a great cape or head-land, which seems as if it went down to join the southern land; and here the passage is less than a league across, after which it again runs straight. Although there are thus some crooks and turnings, none of them are of any importance, or any dangerous obstacle. The western issue of these straits, about eight or ten leagues before coming out, begins to grow broader, and is then all high-land on both sides to the end; as likewise all the way, after getting eight leagues in from the eastern entrance, the shores along these first eight leagues being low. In the entry to the straits, we found the stream to run from the South Sea to the North Sea, or Atlantic.

After beginning to sail into the straits, with the wind at E.N.E. they passed along without let or hindrance either of wind or weather, and because the land on both sides was high, and covered with snow, the whole navigation being fair and clear of shoals or rocks, they held their course the whole way within musket-shot of the north-side, having always nine or ten fathoms water on good ground; so that everywhere there was anchorage if need were. The hills on both sides were covered with trees, which in some places reached to the edge of the sea, where there were plains and flat lands. They saw not any large rivers, but some small brooks or streams that issued from rifts or clefts of the land. In the country beside the great cape and bending of the strait, some Indians were seen on the south side, fishing in their skiffs or canoes, being similar to those formerly seen on the north side at the entrance into the straits; and these were the only natives seen on the south side during the whole passage.

Being out of the straits on the eastern side on the 6th of September,

September, they held their course N.W. for three days, and on the third day they had a storm at N.E. which drove them W.S.W. for ten or twelve days with few sails up; after which, the storm increasing, they took in all their sails, and drove under bare poles till the 30th September. Having lost sight of one of their ships, of about 100 tons, and the wind growing more moderate, they hoisted sail, holding their course N.E. for seven days, at the end of which they came in sight of certain islands, for which they steered, meaning to have anchored among them, but the weather would not permit; and the wind coming N.W. they made sail to the W.S.W. Next day they lost sight of another ship, in very foul weather; so that the admiral was now left alone, as my ship had been left in the bay where they remained some time before entering the straits. With this new storm of adverse wind, they had to proceed southwards, till they came into the latitude of 57° S. where they entered a bay in an island, and anchored in twenty fathoms, about a cannon-shot from the shore. After remaining here three or four days, the wind changed to the south, and they again made sail to the northwards for two days, when a small uninhabited island was descried, where they procured many birds and seals.

Next day they again proceeded, holding their course N. and N.N.E. and came to the island of Mocha, in 38° 30 S. five or six leagues from the main, where they anchored in twelve fathoms, a quarter of a league from the shore. This island is small and low land, all full of Indians. Here the admiral and twelve Englishmen landed, on purpose to seek fresh water and provisions, and bought two sheep in exchange of other things from the Indians, together with a little maize, and some roots of which the Indians make bread; and being now late, went on board ship for the night. Next day the admiral again landed with twelve men armed with muskets, and sent two men with vessels to fetch water. Some Indians lay in ambush at the watering-place, who suddenly fell upon the two Englishmen, and made them prisoners; which being perceived by the admiral and those with him, they advanced to rescue their companions, but were so sore assailed by stones and arrows, that all or most of them were hurt, the admiral receiving two wounds from arrows, one in his face and the other on his head; so that they were compelled to retreat to their boat, without hurting any of the Indians,

Indians, who were so bold as even to carry away four of their oars.

They sailed from hence along the coast to the northwards, with a southern wind, for six days, passing the harbour of St Jago, and put into another haven, where they took an Indian, who was fishing in a canoe, giving him some linen, knives, and other trifles. Not long after there came another Indian to the ship, whose name was Felippe, and who spoke Spanish. He gave notice to the English admiral of a certain ship being in the harbour of St Jago, which they had overpassed six leagues. So, taking this Indian as their guide, they went back to St Jago, where they took the said ship, in which were 1770 *botijas*, or Spanish pots, full of wine, besides other commodities. They then landed, and took a quantity of sacks of meal, and whatever else they could find, taking also the ornaments and relics from the church. They departed then from thence, taking with them the captured ship, with two of her men, running along the coast till they came to the latitude of between 30° and 31° S. where they had appointed to meet, in case of separation. They here anchored right over against a river, whence they filled six butts of fresh water, having twelve armed men on land to defend those who filled the casks. While busied in this work, they saw a company of armed men coming towards them, half Spaniards and half Indians, being about 250 horse and as many foot, on which they made all haste to get into their boat, escaping with the loss of one man.

They set sail again that same night, going about ten leagues farther along the coast, where they took in some more fresh water, but were soon obliged to quit this place also, by the appearance of some horsemen. Proceeding thirty leagues farther along the coast, still to the northwards, they went into a bay or haven, in a desert or uninhabited place, but seeing some persons daily on the shore, they did not venture to land. At this place, the English put together the pieces of a small pinnace, which they had brought ready framed with them from England. Having launched this pinnace, the English captain went into her with fifteen men, accompanied by John the Greek, who was chief boatswain, being master of the ship formerly taken in the harbour of St Jago. At this time they went to look for the two vessels they had parted from formerly in a storm, and also in hopes of being able to procure fresh water; but seeing always persons on shore, they

they durst not land, and returned again to the ship without hearing of their other ships. They now took all the ordnance out of their ship, and new dressed and rigged her; after which, arming the pinnace with a small piece of ordnance, they resumed their course to the northwards.

Having sailed thirteen days, they came to an island about the shot of a culverin from the main, where four fishermen told them of fresh water on the main; but understanding it was but scanty, and somewhat distant from the shore, they continued their course. Next day they espied some fishers houses on shore, when the English captain landed and took three of the fishers, taking away half of the fish that lay packed on the shore. The day following they took a bark laden with fish belonging to the Spaniards, in which were four Indians, and bound it by a rope to the stem of their ships; but the Indians in the night cut her loose, and went away. Next day the English captain went ashore to certain houses, where he found 3000 pezos of silver, each being equal to a rial of eight, or Spanish dollar; getting also seven Indian sheep, some hens, and other articles, all of which he brought on board, and resumed his voyage. Two days after, going to the harbour of Arica, they found two ships, one of which was laden with goods and Spanish wares, out of which they only took 200 botijas, or pots of wine, and from the other thirty-seven bars of silver, each weighing ten or twelve pounds. They meant also to have landed at this place; but seeing some horsemen coming towards them, they desisted.

Next morning they burnt the ship which was laden with Spanish wares, and took the other along with them, continuing their course, the captain sailing along shore in the pinnace, while the ship kept about a league farther out to sea, going in search of a ship of which they had intelligence. After sailing in this manner about forty-five leagues, they found the ship of which they were in search, at anchor in a haven; but having intelligence a few hours before, of an English pirate or sea-rover, she had landed 800 bars of silver belonging to the king of Spain; but the English durst not go on shore to search for it, as many Spaniards and Indians stood there as a well-armed guard. They found nothing, therefore, in this ship except three pipes of water. Taking this ship out to sea about a league, they hoisted all her sails and let her drive, doing the like with the ship they

took

took at Arica, and that also they had taken at St Jago, continuing their course with their own ship and pinnace.

When about seven leagues from Calao de Lima, they spied three ships, one of which they boarded, and took three men out of her, and then continued their course for Calao, which haven they entered about two or three hours after night-fall, sailing in among the middle of seventeen ships which lay there at anchor. Being among these ships, they enquired for the ship which had the silver on board; but learning that all the silver had been carried on shore, they cut the cables of all the ships and the masts of the two largest, and so left them. At this time, there arrived a ship from Panama, laden with Spanish wares and merchandise, which anchored close by the English ship, while the English captain was searching among the other ships for the silver. When the ship of Panama was anchored, a boat came off from the shore to examine her, but coming in the dark to the English ship, was told by one of the Spanish prisoners she was the ship of Michael Angelo from Chili; on which one of the Spaniards from the boat came up the side, but coming upon one of her cannon, he was afraid and they made off, as the ships in these seas carry no guns. The Panama ship hearing of this, cut her cables and put to sea; which being perceived by the English, who were close by, they followed in their pinnace. On getting up with her, the English called out for them to surrender, but the Spaniards killed one of their men by a musket-shot, on which the pinnace returned. The English ship then set sail and overtook the Spanish ship, when the crew took to their boat and escaped on shore, leaving their ship to the English, who took her, and continued her course to the northwards.

Next day the English saw a boat under sail making towards them, which they suspected to be a spy, and soon afterwards perceived two great ships coming to meet them, which they supposed had been sent on purpose to fight them. On this they cast loose the Panama ship, in which they left John the Greek and two men they had taken the night before in Calao harbour; and then made all sail, not once setting eye again upon the two great ships, which made direct for the Panama ship. The English continued their course to the northwards along the coast; and some days afterwards met a frigate or small vessel bound for Lima, laden with wares and merchandise of the country, whence the English took a lamp

and

and fountain of silver. They enquired of the people in this ship if they had met a ship, which they understood was laden with silver; on which one pilot said he had not seen any such, while another said he had met her about three days before. This frigate was taken by the pinnace, in which the English captain sailed close by the shore, the English ship keeping about a league and a half from land. On receiving this information, the English let the frigate go, and continued their course to the northwards.

Two days afterwards, they came to the harbour of Payta, where they found a ship laden with Spanish wares, which was boarded and taken by the pinnace, without resistance, most of the crew escaping on shore. From this ship, the English took the pilot, with all the bread and other provisions. About two days after, they boarded a ship belonging to Panama, from which they only took a negro. Next day, being the 1st February, they met another ship of Panama, laden with fish and other victuals, having also forty bars of silver and some gold, but I know not how much, which they took, sending the passengers in a boat to the land, among whom were two friars. Next day, the English captain hanged a man of the Panama ship, for secreting two plates of gold, which were found about him, after which that ship was turned adrift.

Towards noon of the 1st March, they descried the ship laden with silver, being then about four leagues to seawards of them: and, as the English ship sailed somewhat heavily, being too much by the head, they hung a quantity of botijas, or Spanish earthen pots which had contained oil, and now filled with water, over the stern of their ship, to give her a better trim and to improve her sailing. The treasure ship, thinking the English vessel had been one of those which usually sail upon that coast, made towards her, and when near, the English captain hailed her to surrender: As the Spanish captain refused, the English fired some cannons, by one of which the Spanish ship's mast was shot over board, and her master being wounded by an arrow, she presently yielded. Thereupon the English took possession of her, and sailed with her directly out to sea all that night, and the next day and night. Being entirely out of sight of land, they began to search their prize on the third day, removing her cargo into their own ship, being 1300 bars or wedges of silver, and fourteen chests of rials of eight, besides some gold, but how much

much of that I know not, only that the passengers said there was great store. They told me also, that 300 of the silver bars belonged to the king, and all the rest to the merchants. That done, they allowed the ship to go away with all her men, putting into her the three pilots they had hitherto carried with them.

From thence they sailed onwards for Nicaragua, and descried land about the 13th March, being an island named Canno, not very high, about two leagues from the main land, where they found a small bay, in which they anchored in five fathoms close to the shore, remaining there till the 20th. On that day a bark passed close to the land, which was captured by the English pinnace, being laden with sarsaparilla, and botijas or pots of butter and honey, with other things. Throwing all the sarsaparilla overboard, the English removed all their cannon into this bark, and then laid their own ship on shore to new caulk and trim her bottom. This being done, and taking in a supply of wood and water, they held their course along shore to the westwards, taking the Spanish bark along with them. After two days, they removed the men from her, giving them the pinnace. Among these were four sailors, bound for Panama, meaning to go thence for China, one of whom had many letters and patents, among which were letters from the king of Spain to the governor of the Philippines, as also the charts which are used in that voyage.

Continuing their course, the English descried, on the 6th of April, a ship about two leagues out to sea, which they took early next morning, in which was Don Francisco Xarate. Continuing their course, they came to the haven of Guatalco on Monday the 13th April, where they remained at anchor till the 26th of that month, on which day they sailed to the westwards, putting me, Nuno da Silva, on board a ship then in the said harbour of Gualtalco.

SECTION VII.

Second Supplement, being the Voyage of Mr John Winter, after parting from Sir Francis Drake.[1]

We passed Cape Deseado into the South Sea on the 6th September, 1578, and run to the N.W. about 70 leagues, when the wind turned directly against us, with extremely foul weather, as rain, hail, snow, and thick fogs, and so continued for more than three weeks, during which time we could bear no sail, and were driven into the latitude of 57° S. On the 15th September, the moon was eclipsed, beginning to be darkened immediately after sun-set, about six in the evening, being then the vernal equinox in this southern hemisphere. This eclipse happened in England on the 16th before one in the morning, which is about six hours difference, agreeing to one quarter of the circumference of the globe, from the meridian of England to the west.

The last of September, being a very foul night, we lost the Marigold, a bark of about thirty tons, the Pelican, which was our general's ship, and our ship the Elizabeth running to the eastwards, to get to the land. Of this we got sight on the 7th October, falling into a very dangerous bay, full of rocks; and that same night we lost company of Mr Drake. Next day, very difficultly escaping from the dangerous rocks among which we were embayed, we got again into the Straits of Magellan, where we anchored in an open bay for two days, making great fires on the shore, that Mr Drake might find us, if he also came into the straits.

We then went into a sound, where we remained about three weeks, naming it *The Port of Health,* as most of our men,

[1] Hakluyt, IV. 253.—This narrative is said to have been written by Edward Cliffe, mariner. Only so much of the narrative is given here as relates to the voyage of Winter, after parting from Sir Francis Drake. One circumstance only may be mentioned, respecting the Patagons.—" These men be of no such stature as the Spaniards report, being but of the height of Englishmen; for I have seen men in England taller than I could see any of them. Peradventure the Spaniards did not think that any Englishmen would have come hither so soon, to have disproved them in this and divers others of their notorious lies; wherefore they presumed more boldly to abuse the world."—Yet even recent voyagers have presumed to *abuse the world,* with reporting that the Patagons are of gigantic stature.—E.

men, having been sick with long watching, wet, cold, and bad diet, did wonderfully recover their health here in a short space, for which praised be God. We found here muscles of very great size, some being twenty inches long, yielding very pleasant meat, and many of them full of seed pearls. We came out of this harbour on the 1st November, abandoning our voyage by compulsion of Mr Winter, sore against the will of the mariners. Mr Winter alleged that he despaired of having winds to carry him to the coast of Peru, and was also in fear that Mr Drake had perished. So we went back again to the eastwards through the straits, to St George's island, where we laid in a quantity of a certain kind of fowl, very plentiful in that island, the meat of which is not much unlike that of a fat English goose. They have no wings, but only short pinions, which serve them in swimming, being of a black colour, mixed with white spots on their bellies and round their necks. They walk so upright, that they seem afar like little children; and when approached they conceal themselves in holes under ground, not very deep, of which the island is full. To take them, we used sticks having hooks fastened at one end, with which we pulled them out, while other men stood by with cudgels to knock them on the head; for they bit so cruelly with their hooked bills, that we could not handle them when alive.[2]

Departing from St George's island, we passed Cape Virgin[3] on the 11th November, going out of the straits into the southern Atlantic ocean, and directed our course to the N.E. till the last day of that month, when we arrived at an island in the mouth of the *Rio de la Plata*, or River of Silver. On this island there is an incredible number of seals, some of which are sixteen feet long, not fearing the approach of men. Most of our men were ashore in this island for fifteen days, setting up a pinnace; during which time the seals would often come and sleep beside our men, rather resisting them than giving place, unless when mortal blows forced them to yield. Having finished our pinnace, we went to another island, where we watered, and afterwards departed on the 1st January, 1579. We went to the northwards till the 20th of that month, when we came to an island on the coast of Brazil, near a town called St Vincent, inhabited by the Portuguese, which

[2] It is almost unnecessary to remark that these were penguins.—E.
[3] Called Cape Victory by Mr Cliffe.—E.

which is in lat. 24° S. Here we lost our pinnace in foul weather, together with her crew of eight men. And here also our ship was in great danger, in consequence of a strong current, which almost forced her on shore before we were aware, so that we had to drop anchor in the open sea, brôke our cable and lost our anchor, and had to let fall another, in weighing which afterwards our men were sore distressed: for, owing to the heaving of the ship with the sea, the capstan ran round with so much violence as to throw the men from the bars, dashed out the brains of one man, broke the leg of another, and severely hurt several more. At length we hove up our anchor, and ran to a place called Tanay, where we rode under the lee of an island, whence we had a supply of wood and water.

While at this place, three Portuguese came aboard in a canoe, desiring to know who we were and what we wanted. Our captain made answer, that we were Englishmen, and had brought commodities with us for their country, if they would trade with us, at which they seemed much surprised, as they said they had never before heard of any English ship being in that country. So they went ashore, taking one of our men with them to speak with the governor of the town, while we detained one of the Portuguese as a pledge. Soon after there came another canoe on board, in which was one Portuguese, all the rest being naked natives of the country. From this man we had two small oxen, a young hog, and several fowls, with pome-citrons, lemons, oranges, and other fruits, for which our captain gave them linen cloth, combs, knives, and other articles of small value. In the mean time, the governor of the town sent word that we should have nothing, unless the ship was brought into the harbour, to which our captain would not consent, lest they might betray us.

Receiving back our man, and returning the Portuguese pledge, we went afterwards to the island of St Sebastian, where we took fish. At this place the Portuguese would have betrayed us, had not a Brasilian slave informed us by signs, that they were coming in canoes to take us, as it actually fell out: For, next morning, they came on in twelve or fourteen canoes, some of these having forty men; but being on our guard they retired. That same night, two of our men carried away our boat, deserting to the Portuguese. Leaving this place, we had sight of Cape St Augustine in lat. 8° S. We afterwards had sight of the isle of Fernando Noronha,

within three degrees of the equator. We crossed the line on the 18th of April, and got sight of the north star on the 19th of that month.

From the 1st to the 5th of May, we sailed about 100 leagues through the *Sea of Weeds*, under the tropic of Cancer. Holding our course from thence to the N.E. till we were in lat. 47° N. we changed our course on the 22d May to E.N.E. The 29th of May we had soundings in seventy fathoms on white ooze, being then in lat. 51° N. The 30th of May we got sight of St Ives on the north coast of Cornwall, and arrived on the 2d of June at Ilfracomb, in Devonshire.

CHAPTER III.

VOYAGE OF SIR THOMAS CANDISH ROUND THE WORLD, IN 1586—1588.[1]

INTRODUCTION.

IT was the constant policy, during the reign of queen Elizabeth, to encourage, as much as possible, the flame of public spirit in private individuals, by shewing the utmost readiness on all occasions to honour all who performed any remarkable service to their country, though sparing of such marks of favour on other occasions. By this wise conduct, and by her frequent public discourses on the glory resulting from an active life, she excited many of the young nobility, and gentlemen of easy fortunes, to hazard their persons and estates in the public service, exciting a desire of fame even among the wealthy, and by this means uniting the rich, who desired to purchase honour, and the indigent, who sought to procure the means of living, in the same pursuits. It thus happened in her reign, that such men were of most use to their country, as are scarcely of any utility in other reigns; for, merit being then the only recommendation at court, those were most forward to expose themselves in generous undertakings, who would at any other time have thought themselves excused from such dangers and fatigues.

Thus the earls of Cumberland and Essex, Sir Richard Greenvile, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir Robert Dudley, and many other persons of rank and fortune, employed great sums of money, and exposed themselves to the greatest dangers, in expeditions against the Spaniards, making discoveries in distant parts of the world, and planting

[1] Hakluyt, IV. 316. Harris, Col. I. 23. Callender, Voy. I. 424. The earliest account of this voyage, according to the Bibliotheque Universelle des Voyages, I. 113, appears to have been published in Dutch at Amsterdam, in folio, in 1598. But must assuredly have been a translation from the English.—E.

ing colonies, which were the glory of those times. Among these, no one distinguished himself more than the gentleman whose voyage forms the subject of this chapter; whether we consider the expence he incurred, the difficulties he encountered, or the success of his enterprise; all of which proceeded from that greatness of mind and ardent desire of fame, which taught him to despise danger and to encounter fatigue, at an age when most men of fortune think the season of youth a sufficient excuse for the indulgence of luxury and ease.

Thomas Candish, or Cavendish, of Trimley, in the county of Suffolk, Esquire, was a gentleman of an honourable family and large estate, which lay in the neighbourhood of Ipswich, then a place of very considerable trade. This circumstance gave him an early inclination for the sea, which he gratified as soon as he came of age, by selling part of his estate, and employing the money in equipping a stout bark of 120 tons, called the Tiger, in which he accompanied Sir Richard Greenvile in his voyage to Virginia in 1585. In this expedition he underwent many dangers and difficulties, without any profit, but returned safe to Falmouth on the 6th October of the same year. This want of success did not discourage him from undertaking still greater and more hazardous expeditions. Having, in his voyage to Virginia, seen a considerable part of the Spanish West Indies, and conversed with some persons who had sailed with Sir Francis Drake in his circumnavigation, he became desirous of undertaking a similar voyage, as well for repairing the loss he had sustained in this first expedition, as to emulate that great and fortunate commander, who was now raised to the highest honours in his profession.

Returning home, therefore, he immediately applied himself to make such preparations as were necessary for the accomplishment of his new design; and either sold or mortgaged his estate, to procure a sufficient sum for building and equipping two such ships as he deemed requisite for the voyage; using such diligence, that his carpenters were at work upon his largest ship within a month, and in six months more his little squadron was entirely finished, and completely supplied with every necessary for the voyage.

The narrative of this voyage is chiefly taken from that given by Harris, compared and corrected from that in the collection of Hakluyt, which is said to have been written by Mr Francis Pretty of Eye, in Suffolk, a gentleman who sailed in the

the expedition. In Hakluyt, this circumnavigation is thus styled :—" The admirable and prosperous voyage of the worshipful Mr Thomas Candish of Trimley, in the county of Suffolk, Esquire, into the South Sea, and from thence round about the circumference of the whole earth, begun in the year of our Lord 1586, and finished 1588."

Section I.

Narrative of the Voyage from England to the Pacific.

The larger ship of this little squadron was named the Desire, of 140 tons burden, and the lesser the Content of 60 tons, to which was added a bark of 40 tons, called the Hugh Gallant, all supplied at his own expence with two years provisions, and manned with 123 officers and men, most of them men of experience, and some of whom had served under Sir Francis Drake. For their better encouragement, he entered into a fair agreement with them, with respect to the proportions in which all prizes should be shared among them. He was likewise careful in providing maps, sea charts, and draughts, and all such accounts as could be procured of voyages already made into those parts which he intended to visit. Likewise, by means of his patron, Lord Hunsdon, the lord-chamberlain, he procured a commission from Queen Elizabeth.

Having thus completed his preparations, he set out from London on the 10th July, 1586, for Harwich, where he embarked in the Desire, and sailed thence for Plymouth, where he arrived on the 18th, and waited there for some of his company till the 21st of that month, when he hoisted sail on his intended voyage. On the 25th of that month, one Mr Hope died, of a wound received in a duel, during their stay at Plymouth. Next day, they fell in with five ships of Biscay, well manned, coming, as they supposed, from the great bank of Newfoundland, which attacked the Desire; but Mr Candish gave them so warm a reception, that they were glad to sheer off, and continued their course without giving him any farther disturbance. As it grew dark, and he feared losing sight of his consorts, Mr Candish did not continue the chase.

They fell in with the island of Fuertaventura, on the 1st August,

August, whence they sailed for Rio del Oro and Cape Blanco, and thence along the coast of Guinea, with which navigation Mr Brewer, who sailed in the Desire, was well acquainted. The men now began to complain much of the scurvy, wherefore it was resolved to put them on shore for their recovery on the first opportunity. They made Sierra Leona on the 23d of August, and reached its southern side on the 25th, where they had five fathoms at the lowest ebb; having had for about fourteen leagues, while running into this harbour, from eight to sixteen fathoms. At this place they destroyed a negro town, because the inhabitants had killed one of their men with a poisoned arrow. Some of the men went four miles up the harbour in a boat, on the 3d September, where they caught plenty of fish; and going on shore, procured some lemons. They saw also some buffaloes, on their return to the ship. The 6th they went out of the harbour of Sierra Leona, and staid one tide three leagues from the point at its mouth, the tide there flowing S. W.

The 7th they departed for one of the islands which lie about ten leagues from the point of Sierra Leona, called the Banana isles,[1] and anchored that same day off the principal isle, on which they only found a few plantains. At the east end of this island they found a town, but no inhabitants, and concluded that the negroes sometimes resort thither, by seeing the remains of their provisions. There is no fresh water on the south side of this island that they could find; but there is in three or four places on its north side. The whole island was one entire wood, except a few small cleared spots where some huts stood, and these were encompassed by plantain-trees, the fruit of which is an excellent food. This place is subject to severe thunder-storms, with much rain, in September.

Leaving these islands and the African coast on the 10th September, and holding their course W. S. W. obliquely across the Atlantic, they fell in with a great mountain in Brazil, on the 31st of October, twenty-four leagues from Cape *Frio*. This mountain has a high round top, shewing from afar like a little town. On the 1st November, they stood

[1] Harris erroneously names these the islands of Cape Verd, which are at a vast distance from Sierra Leona. The Banana isles are in lat. 8° N. and long. 12° 30′ W. from Greenwich. In Hakluyt these are called the isles of Madrabumba, and are said to be ten leagues from the point of Sierra Leona.—E.

stood in between the island of St Sebastian and the main; where they carried their things on shore, and erected a forge, and built a pinnace, repairing also every thing that was out of order, in which work they were detained till the 23d of November. Sailing from this place on the 26th, they fell in with the coast of South America again in lat. 47° 20′ S. whence they proceeded along shore till they came to lat. 48° S. finding a steep beach all along. On the 27th of November they came to a harbour, into which Candish first entered, giving it the name of Port Desire, from that of his ship.[2] Near this harbour they found an island or two well stocked with seals, and another in which there were vast numbers of grey gulls.[3]

This haven of Port Desire was found very favourable for careening and graving of ships, as the tide there ebbed and flowed considerably. At this place the savages wounded two of the Englishmen with their arrows, which were made of canes or reeds, tipt with sharpened flints. These savage natives of the country round Port Desire were exceedingly wild and rude, and as it would seem of a gigantic race, as the measure of one of their foot marks was eighteen inches long.[4] This agrees well with the assertion of Magellan, though some pains have been taken to represent that as fabulous. Magellan called this country Patagonia, and its inhabitants Patagons, meaning to signify that they were five cubits, or *seven feet and a half high.* Hence, as the Portuguese are not commonly very tall, we need not wonder if they styled them giants. If we take the usual proportion of the human foot, as between a fifth and a sixth part of the height of the whole body, the account given by Magellan agrees very exactly with this fact afforded us by Mr Candish; and it will be seen in the sequel, that this is not falsified by any of our subsequent navigators. When any of these savages die, he is buried in a grave constructed of stones near the sea-side, all his darts being fastened about his tomb, and his treasure, consisting of shells, laid under his head.

They

[2] As laid down in modern maps, the latitude of Port Desire is only 47° 15′ S.

[3] Probably penguins.—E.

[4] Without meaning to impugn the received opinion, that the Patagons are beyond the ordinary size of man, it may be permitted to say, that the evidence in the text, the only one here adduced, is altogether inconclusive; and the subsequent reflections are evidently those of Harris, not of Candish.—E.

They left Port Desire on the 28th December, and anchored near an island three leagues to the southward. The 30th they came to a rock, much like the Eddystone at Plymouth, about five leagues off the land, in lat. 48° 30′ S. and within a mile of it had soundings in eight fathoms, on rocky ground. Continuing their course along shore S. S. W. they found vast numbers of seals every where on the coast. January 2d, 1587, they fell in with a great white cape in lat. 52° S. and had seven fathoms within a league of the cape. Next day they came to another cape, in lat. 52° 45′ S. whence runs a long beach about a league to the southwards, reaching to the opening into the Straits of Magellan.[5] January 6th, they entered the straits, which they found in some places five or six leagues wide, but in others considerably narrower. The 7th, between the mouth of the straits and its narrowest part, they took a Spaniard, who had been left there with twenty-three others of that nation, being all that remained alive of four hundred, who had been landed three years before in these straits. This Spaniard shewed them the hull of a small bark, supposed to have been left by Sir Francis Drake.

The eastern mouth of the straits is in lat. 52° S. From thence to the narrowest part is fourteen leagues W. by N. From thence to Penguin Island is ten leagues W. S. W. by S. They anchored at Penguin Island on the 8th January, where they killed and salted a great store of seals, to serve as sea provisions in case of need. Leaving this place on the 9th, they sailed S. S. W. The fortress built in these straits by the Spaniards, called *Ciudad del Rey Felippe*, had four bulwarks or bastions, in each of which was one large cannon, all of which had been buried, and their carriages left standing. The English dug them all up, and carried them away. This city seemed to have been well contrived, especially in its situation in regard to wood and water; but miserable was the life this forlorn remnant of Spaniards had endured for the last two years, during which they had hardly been able to procure any other food than a scanty supply of shell-fish, except when they had the good fortune to surprise a deer, coming down from the mountains in search of water.

The

[5] The cape at the north side of the eastern entrance into the Straits of Magellan, is named Cape Virgin, and is in lat. 52° 28′ S. The great white cape in lat. 52° S. is not so easily ascertained. Cape Blanco, on this coast, is in lat. 47° S. which cannot have any reference to the white cape of the text.—E.

The object of the Spaniards, in erecting this fortress, was to have fortified the straits, so as to have excluded all other nations from any passage into the South Sea: but, besides the barrenness of the soil, and excessive severity of the climate, their most implacable enemies, the Indians, frequently assailed them, so that they were reduced to the last extremity of distress. All the stores they had brought from Spain were expended, and none could be procured in the country, which produced nothing but deer, and when hunting these for the preservation of their lives, they were sure to be fallen upon by the Indians. At length almost all the Spaniards died in their houses, and the stench of the putrefying carcasses became so intolerable to the few survivors, that they were forced to quit the fortress, and to range along the sea-coast, living upon roots, leaves, and sea weeds, or any animals they could occasionally fall in with. In this miserable extremity they had determined to attempt exploring their way to the Rio Plata, and were already on their way, when this Spaniard was taken by the English.

Mr Candish named the haven where the fortress stood *Port Famine*, owing to the utter want of all necessaries. It is in lat. 53° S. Leaving this place on the 14th, they ran five leagues S.W. to Cape Froward, in the southernmost part of the straits, in lat. 54° S. Sailing five leagues W. by N. from this cape, they put into a bay, called Muscle Cove, from the great quantities of muscles found there. Leaving that place on the 21st, and sailing N. by W. ten leagues, they came to a fair bay, which Candish named Elizabeth Bay. Leaving that place on the 22d, they found a good river two leagues farther on, up which a boat was towed for three miles. The country about this river was pleasant and level, but all the other land on both sides of the straits was rugged, mountainous, and rocky, inhabited by a strong and well-made, but very brutish kind of savages, who are said to have eaten many of the Spaniards, and seemed much disposed to have feasted also on English flesh; but they failed in their attempts to circumvent them. Discovering a plot laid by these savages to entrap him and his men, Candish gave them a volley of musquetry, which slew several of them, and the rest ran away.

Leaving this river, they sailed two leagues farther, to an inlet named St Jerome's channel; whence, proceeding three or four leagues W. they came to a cape to the northward, whence

whence the course to the western entrance of the straits is N. W. and N. W. by W. for about thirty-four leagues; so that the entire length of these straits is ninety leagues. This western entrance is in lat. 52° 40′ S. nearly under the same parallel with the eastern mouth. In consequence of storms and excessive rains, they were forced to remain in a harbour near this western mouth of the straits till the 23d of February. By the excessive rains, pouring down with extreme fury in torrents from the mountains, they were brought into extreme danger; and were also much distressed for want of food, as the excessive severity of the weather hardly permitted their landing, to range the country in search of a supply. In their passage through these straits, it was observed that there were harbours on both shores, at every mile or two, tolerably safe and convenient for small ships.

Section II.

Transactions on the Western Coast of America.

The weather moderating, they entered into the great South Sea, or Pacific Ocean, on the 24th February, 1587, observing on the south side of the entrance a very high cape, with an adjoining low point; while, at the northern side of the entrance there were four or five islands, six leagues from the main land, having much broken and sunken ground among and around them. In the night of the 1st March, there arose a great storm, in which they lost sight of the Hugh Gallant, being then in lat. 49° S. and forty-five leagues from the land. This storm lasted three or four days, in which time the Hugh sprung a leak, and was tossed about in this unknown sea, devoid of all help, being every moment ready to sink. By great exertions, however, she was kept afloat; and on the 15th, in the morning, she got in between the island of St Mary and the main, where she again met the admiral and the Content, which two ships had secured themselves during two days of the storm, at the island of Mocha, in lat. 38° S.[1]

At this place some of the company went ashore well armed, and were met by the Indians, who gave them a warm reception

[1] Mocha is in lat. 38° 20″, and the isles of St Mary in 37°, both S.

tion with their bows and arrows. These Indians were of the district in Chili called Araucania, a country rich in gold, and consequently very tempting to the avaricious Spaniards, which accordingly they had repeatedly invaded, but to no purpose, as the natives always defended themselves so valiantly, that their enemies could never subdue them. On the present occasion, mistaking the English for Spaniards, these brave and desperate Araucans gave Candish a hostile welcome. After this skirmish, Candish went with his ships under the lee of the west side of St Mary's island, where he found good anchorage in six fathoms. This island, in lat. 37° S. abounds in hogs, poultry, and various kinds of fruit; but the inhabitants are held under such absolute slavery by the Spaniards, that they dare not kill a hog, or even a hen, for their own use; and although the Spaniards have made them converts to Christianity, they use them more like dogs than men or Christians.

The admiral went ashore on the 16th March, with seventy or eighty men well armed, and was met by two Indian chiefs, who conducted him to a chapel, round which were several store-houses, well filled with wheat and barley, as clean and fair as any in England. He accordingly provided his ships with a sufficient store of grain from this place, and laid in besides an ample supply of hogs, hens, potatoes, dried dog-fish, and maize or Guinea wheat. The admiral invited the two principal Indians to an entertainment on board; and the wine having sharpened their wit, to perceive that the admiral and his men were not Spaniards, as they had hitherto supposed them, they began to talk very freely about the gold mines, saying that the English might procure gold to their full content, by going into the country of the Araucans. But not fully understanding them, as the information was mostly given by signs, the admiral did not prosecute this proposed adventure, but proceeded on his voyage.

Leaving the island of St Mary on the 18th in the morning, they sailed all that day N. N. E. ten leagues. The 19th they steered in with the land, E. N. E. and anchored under an island in the Bay of Conception, in lat. 36° 36′ S. The 30th they came into the Bay of Quintero, in lat. 32° 45′ S. and next day a party of fifty or sixty men, well armed, marched seven or eight miles into the country. In their march, they saw vast herds of wild cattle, with horses, dogs, hares, rabbits, partridges, and other birds, with many fine rivers, well stocked

stocked with wild fowl. Having travelled as far as they conveniently could for the mountains, and having rested and refreshed on the banks of a pleasant river, they returned in good order to the ships at night, without meeting any remarkable adventure; although a party of 200 horse had been abroad all that day in search of them, upon information of some Spaniards who had seen them the preceding day, but durst not venture to attack them, keeping always at a distance on the hills They had at this time a short conference with three Spanish horsemen, through the medium of the poor half-starved Spaniard they took on board in the Straits of Magellan; but, in spite of his many oaths and protestations never to forsake Candish, he took the opportunity to mount on horseback behind one of his countrymen, and got off.

Next day, the 1st April, some of the English being on shore filling their water-casks, the Spaniards became bolder, and watching an opportunity when the sailors were hard at work, poured down with their 200 horse from the hills, slew some of them, and made a few prisoners. But this glorious victory was soon snatched from their hands by the arrival of a reinforcement of fifteen English, who rescued the prisoners, killed twenty-four of the Spaniards, and drove the rest back to the mountains. After this, they continued in the road till the 5th, and watered there in spite of the Spaniards. On the 5th they weighed anchor, and went to a small island about a league from the bay, which is full of penguins and other sea fowl, of which they provided themselves with what store they wanted; after which they sailed N. and N. by W. in order to prosecute their voyage.

The 15th April they came to *Moro Moreno*, in lat. 23° 30′ S. under the tropic of Capricorn, where there is an excellent harbour, made by means of an island, having an entrance for ships at either end. The admiral went ashore here with thirty men, and was met by the Indians, who brought them water and wood on their backs. These are a simple sort of people, living in a wild and savage manner, in great dread of the Spaniards. They brought the admiral and his company to their houses, about two miles from the harbour. These were only constructed of a few rafters laid across upon forked sticks stuck in the ground, having a few boughs laid over them by way of a roof. Their beds were the skins of wild beasts laid on the ground; and their food little

else

else than raw stinking fish. When any of them dies, he is buried with all his arms and goods, as bows and arrows, and even his canoe is laid in the earth along with him. Their canoes, if such they may be called, consist of two skin bags, like large bladders, blown up with quills at one end, and fastened together by the sinews of some wild beast; yet in these they think nothing of venturing to sea, loading them even with great quantities of fish, part of which they have to give in tribute to the Spaniards, the rest being kept to stink for their own eating.

On the 3d May, they came into a bay on which were three small towns, Paracca, Chincha, and Pisco, which latter is in lat. 13° 20′ S.[1] They landed here, and took some provisions, as wine, bread, poultry and figs, from the houses, but could not get ashore at the best of these towns, owing to the sea running too high. By this time, they had made two valuable prizes, laden with sugar, melasses, maiz, cordovan leather, *montego de porco*, packs of painted calicoes, Indian coats, marmalade, hens, and other articles, which would have yielded £20,000, if there had been any opportunity for selling their cargoes. That not being the case, they took out as much as could be conveniently stowed in their own ships, burning their two prizes with the rest of their contents.

The 26th May, they came into the road Payta, in lat. 5° 4′ S. the town being very neat and clean, and containing about 200 houses. Landing here with sixty or seventy men, Candish had a skirmish with the inhabitants, whom he beat out of the town, forcing them to take refuge in the hills, whence they continued to fire at the English, but would not venture a fair battle on the plain ground. Having possessed themselves of the town, the English marched after the enemy on the hill, and put them completely to the rout, seizing all their baggage, which they brought back with them to the town. They here found all sort of household stuff, together with warehouses well filled with various kinds of goods, and twenty-five pound weight of silver in pieces of eight. After taking away what plunder they found convenient, they set fire to the town, which was burnt to the grouud, and destroyed likewise a bark at anchor in the roads; after which they set sail for Puna.

They arrived at Puna, in lat. 3° 10′ S. on the 25th of May, when

[1] Pisco, the principal of these towns, is in lat. 13° 43′ S.

when they found a ship of 250 tons at anchor in the harbour. After sinking her, they went ashore. The lord of this island, styled the Caçique of Puna, was an Indian by birth, but having married a Spanish woman, he became a Christian, and made all his subjects follow his example. He had a sumptuous and well-contrived palace near the shore, with curious gardens adjoining, and fair prospects, both to the water and up the country. All the inhabitants of this island were kept continually employed in fabricating cables, such abundance of which are made here by the Indian subjects of this caçique, that most of the ships navigating the South Sea are supplied from hence. This island is nearly as large as the isle of Wight in England, being about forty English miles from S.W. to N.E. and sixteen in the opposite direction. It enjoys a great share in the blessings of nature; for, although it has no mines of gold or silver, it affords every thing in abundance that is necessary to the comforts of life. The pastures are excellent, and are well stored with horses, oxen, sheep, and goats, yielding abundance of milk; it has also plenty of poultry, turkeys, ducks of a large size, and pigeons. The caçique has several orchards, yielding a great variety of fine fruits, as oranges, lemons, figs, pomegranates, pumpkins, melons, and many others; with a variety of odoriferous plants, as rosemary, thyme, and the like. One of these gardens or orchards was planted with the bombast cotton tree, which grows in pods, in each of which there are seven or eight seeds.

The 29th of May, Candish went to an island near Puna, into which the caçique had conveyed all the valuable furniture of his palace, with other things of value. These stores were all discovered, and plundered of every thing thought worth carrying on board the ships, and the rest destroyed. The church also of Puna, which stood near the palace, was burnt down, and its five bells carried to the ships. On the 2d June, the English were attacked by 100 Spaniards, who killed or took prisoners twelve of their men, losing forty-six of their own in the encounter. Candish landed again that same day with seventy English, and had another battle with the Spaniards, who were joined by 200 Indians armed with bows and arrows. The English were victorious, after which they made great havock of the fields and orchards, burnt four ships on the stocks, and left the town of 300 houses a heap of rubbish. Besides this principal town, there were two

two others on the island of 200 houses each, so that Puna was the best settled island on all this coast.

Setting sail from Puna on the 5th June, they sailed to Rio Dolce, where they watered. They passed the equinoctial on the 12th, continuing their course northwards all the rest of that month. The 1st July, they had sight of New Spain, being four leagues from the land in 10° N. The 9th they took a new ship of 120 tons, in which was one Michael Sancius, a native of Provence, a very skilful coasting pilot for these seas, whom Candish retained as his pilot, and from whom he got the first hint of the great ship Anna Maria, which he afterwards took on her voyage from the Philippine islands. Taking all the men, and every thing of any value from the ship of Sancius, they set her on fire. The 26th they came to anchor in the mouth of the river Capalico, and the same night went in the pinnace with thirty men to Guatalco, two leagues from that river, in 15° 70′ N. and burnt both the town and custom-house, which was a large handsome building, in which there were laid up 600 bags of indigo, and 400 bags of cacao, every bag of the former being worth forty crowns, and each of the latter worth ten. These cacaos serve among the people of these parts both as food and money, being somewhat like almonds, yet not quite so pleasant, and pass in trade by way of small change, 150 of them being equal in value to a rial of plate.

They set sail from Capalico on the 28th, the sea running so high that they could not fill their water casks, and came to Guatalco that same night. Next day Candish went ashore with thirty men, marching two miles into the woods, where he took a *mestizo* belonging to the custom-house of that town, having with him a considerable quantity of goods, both which and their master were carried to the ships. The 24th August, Candish went with thirty men in the pinnace to the haven of *Puerto de Navidad* in lat. 19° 24′ N. where Sancius had informed him there would be a prize; but, before their arrival, she had gone twelve leagues farther to fish for pearls. They here made prisoner of a mulatto, who had been sent to give notice of the English, all along the coast of New Gallicia, and got possession of all his letters. They likewise burnt the town, and two ships of 200 tons here building, after which they returned to the ships.

They came on the 26th into the bay of St Jago, where they watered at a good river, which yielded them plenty of fish,

fish, and where they found some pearls. This bay is in lat. 19° 18′ N. Leaving this bay on the 2d September, they came next day into the bay of Malacca, a league westward from port Navidad, and a good place for ships to ride in. That day, Candish went ashore with about thirty men, to an Indian town named Acatlan, about two leagues from the road.[2] This town or village consisted of twenty or thirty houses and a church, which they demolished, and then returned at night to the ships. Leaving this bay on the 4th, they came on the 8th to the road of Chacalla, eighteen leagues from Cape Corientes. On the 9th, Candish sent a party of forty men, guided by Sancius, which, after marching through woods and deserts, lighted upon a few families, some of which were Indians, and others Spanish and Portuguese, all of whom were brought to the ships. The women were ordered to fetch plantains, lemons, oranges, and other fruits, in reward for which all their husbands were set free, except a Spaniard named Sembrano, and Diego, a Portuguese.

On the 12th they arrived at the island of St Andrew, which is very full of wood, and where they found plenty of fowls and seals, together with a sort of serpents, or lizards rather, called *Iguanos,* having four feet and a long sharp tail, which they found good eating. Leaving this isle, they came to the road of Mazatlan on the 24th, lying under the tropic of Cancer. The river here is large within, but much obstructed by a bar at its mouth. The bay abounds with fish, and there are abundance of good fruits up the country. Departing from this bay on the 27th, they came to an island, a league north from Mazatlan,[4] where they heeled their ships, and rebuilt their pinnace. On this isle, they found fresh water, by digging two or three feet into the sand, otherwise they must have gone back twenty or thirty leagues for water, being advised by one Flores, a Spanish prisoner, to dig in the sands, where no water or sign of any could be perceived. Having amply supplied the ships with water, they remained at this island till the 9th October, and then sailed from Cape San Lucar, the S.W. point of California, in lat. 22° 50′ N. which they fell in with on the 14th, observing that it much resembled

[2] Guatlan is the name of a bay on this coast, and which is probably corrupted in the text to Acatlan.—E.

[3] In our best modern maps no such island is to be found; but about the same distance to the S. is a cluster of small isles.—E.

resembled the Needles at the Isle of Wight, which had been before noticed by Sir Francis Drake. Within this cape, there is a large bay, called by the Spaniards *Aguada Segura*,[5] into which falls a fine fresh-water river, the banks of which are usually inhabited by many Indians in the summer. They went into this bay, where they again watered, and remained waiting for the Accapulco ship till the 4th November, the wind continuing all that time to hang westerly.

The 4th November, putting to sea, the Desire and Content beat to and fro to windward off the head land of California; and that very morning one of the men in the admiral, going aloft to the topmast, espied a ship bearing in from seaward for the cape. Putting every thing in readiness for action, Candish gave chase, and coming up with her in the afternoon, gave her a broadside and a volley of small arms. This ship was the Santa Anna of 700 tons burden, belonging to the king of Spain, and commanded by the admiral of the South Sea. Candish instantly boarded, finding the Spaniards in a good posture of defence, and was repulsed with the loss of two men slain and four or five wounded. He then renewed the action with his cannon and musquetry, raking the St Ann, and killing or wounding great numbers, as she was full of men. The Spaniards long defended themselves manfully; but the ship being sore wounded, so that the water poured in a-main, they at last hung out a flag of truce, praying for quarter, and offering to surrender. This was immediately agreed to by Candish, who ordered them to lower their sails, and to send their chief officers to his ship. They accordingly hoisted out their boat, in which came the captain, the pilot, and one of the chief merchants, who surrendered themselves, and gave an account of the value of their ship, in which were 122,000 pezos in gold, with prodigious quantities of rich silks, satins, damasks, and divers kinds of merchandise, such as musk, and all manner of provisions, almost as acceptable to the English as riches, having been long at sea.

The prize thus gloriously obtained, Candish returned to *Aguada*, or *Puerto Seguro*, on the 6th November, where he landed all the Spaniards, to the number of 150 persons, men and women, giving them plenty of wine and victuals, with the

[4] Probably that now called the bay of St Barnaby, about twenty miles E.N.E. from Cape San Lucar.—E.

the sails of their ship and some planks, to build huts or tents for them to dwell in. The owners of the prize being thus disposed of, the next thing was to share the booty; which ungracious work of distribution soon involved Candish in all the troubles of a mutiny, every one being eager for gold, yet no one satisfied with his share. This disturbance was most violent in the Content; but all was soon appeased and compromised by the candid and generous behaviour of Candish. The 17th of November, being the coronation day of queen Elizabeth, was celebrated by discharges of ordnance, and vollies of small shot, and at night by fireworks. Of the prisoners taken in the Spanish ship, Candish reserved two Japanese boys, three natives of the island of Luzon or Manilla, a Portuguese who had been in China and Japan, and a Spanish pilot, who was thoroughly versant in the navigation between New Spain and the Philippine islands. Accapulco is the haven whence they fit out for the Philippines, and the Ladrones are their stated places of refreshment on this voyage.

Having dismissed the Spanish captain with a noble present, and sufficient provision for his defence against the Indians, and removed every thing from the prize which his ships could contain, Candish set the Santa Anna on fire on the 19th November, having still 500 tons of her goods remaining, and saw her burnt to the water's edge.

Section III.

Voyage Home to England.

This great business, for which they had so long waited, being now accomplished, they set sail cheerfully on their return for England. The Content staid some short time behind the Desire, which went on before, expecting she would soon follow, but she never rejoined company. Pursuing the voyage, therefore, in the Desire, Candish directed his course for the Ladrones across the Pacific Ocean, these islands being nearly 1800 leagues distant from this harbour of *Aguada Segura* in California. This passage took forty-five days, from the 19th November, 1587, to the 3d January, 1588. On this day, early in the morning, they had sight of Guam, one of the Ladrones, in lat. 13° 40′ N. and long. 143° 30′ E.

Sailing with a gentle gale before the wind, they came within two leagues of the island, where they saw sixty or seventy canoes full of savages, who brought cocoas, plantains, potatoes, and fresh fish, to exchange for some of their commodities. They gave them in return some pieces of old iron, which they hung upon small cords and fishing lines, and so lowered down to the canoes, getting back, in the same manner, what the savages offered in exchange. In the course of this traffic the savages crowded so much about the ship, that two of their canoes were broken; yet none of the savages were drowned, as they were almost as familiar with the water as if they had been fishes. The savages continued following the ship, and would not quit her company till several shots were fired at them; though 'tis ten to one if any of them were killed, as they are so very nimble, throwing themselves immediately into the water, and diving beyond the reach of danger on the slightest warning.

These islanders were large handsome men, extraordinarily fat, and of a tawny colour, mostly having very long hair, some wearing it tied up in large knots on the crown of their heads, like certain wooden images at the heads of their canoes. Their canoes were very artificially made, considering that they use no edge-tools in their construction; and are about seven or eight yards in length, by half a yard only in breadth, their heads and stems being both alike, and having rafts made of canes or reeds on their starboard sides, being also supplied both with masts and sails. These latter are made of sedges, and are either square or triangular. These canoes have this property, that they will sail almost as well against the wind as before it.

On the 19th January, at day-break, Candish fell in with a head-land of the Philippine islands, called *Cabo del Espiritu Santo*. The island itself [Samar] is of considerable size, consisting of high land in the middle, and depressed in its east and west extremities; the latter of which runs a great way out to sea. It is in lat. 30° N. being distant 110 leagues from Guam and about 60 leagues from Manilla, the chief of the Philippines.[1] Samar is a woody island, and its inhabitants are

[1] The latitude of Cape Espiritu Santo, as given in the text, is grossly erroneous, being only 12° 35′ N. and its long. 125° 30′ E. from Greenwich. The difference of longitude from Guam, Guaham, or Guaci, the most southerly of the Ladrones, is 17° 45′ nearly east, and consequently 355 marine leagues. This island is divided from Luzon, or Luçonia, the prin-

are mostly heathens. Candish spent eleven days in sailing from Guam to this place, having had some foul weather, and scarcely carrying any sail for two or three nights. Manilla, at this time, was an unwalled town of no great strength, yet containing vast riches in gold and valuable commodities, and inhabited by six or seven hundred Spaniards. It has a constant annual correspondence with Accapulco in New Spain; besides which twenty or thirty vessels come thither yearly from China, for conducting its trade with the *Sangueloes:* These are Chinese merchants, very sharp and sensible men in every thing relating to trade, extremely ingenious in all kinds of mechanical contrivances, and the most expert embroiderers on silk and satin of any in the world. They will execute any form of beast, fowl, or fish, in gold, silver, or silk, having all the just proportions and colours in every part, and giving all the life and beauty to their work, as if done by the best painter, or even as nature has bestowed on the originals. The trade of these men with Manilla must be very profitable, as they bring great quantities of gold there, and exchange it against silver, weight for weight.[2]

The same day on which he fell in with Cape Espiritu Santo, 14th of January, 1588, Candish entered in the evening into the straits of San Bernardino, between Samar or Cambaia, and the island of Luzon. The 15th he fell in with the island of *Capul,* passing a very narrow strait between that island and another, in which the current of the tide was considerable. In this passage, a ledge of rocks lay off the point of Capul, but was passed without danger. Within the point was a fair bay, with a good harbour, having anchorage in four fathoms, within a cable's length of the shore. Coming to anchor here about ten in the morning, the Desire was immediately boarded by a canoe, in which was one of the seven chiefs of the island. Passing themselves for Spaniards, the English

cipal island of the Philippines, by the narrow straits of San Bernardino; and Cape Espiritu Santo is about 100 leagues, in a straight line, from the city of Manilla, which lies to the N.W. Cape Espiritu Santo is at the N.W. extremity of the island of Samar.—E.

[2] This surely is an egregious error, as such acute merchants as the Chinese are here represented, and actually are, could never be so foolish as to give gold for silver, weight for weight. Before the present scarcity of bullion, the ordinary European price of exchange, was fourteen for one; and perhaps the then price in China might be lower, as twelve, eleven, or ten; but equality is quite inconceivable.—E.

English traded with these people for cocoa-nuts and potatoes, giving a yard of linen for four cocoa-nuts, and as much for about a quart of potatoes, which they found sweet and excellent food, either boiled or roasted.

The caçique or chief who came on board had his skin curiously streaked or painted [tatooed], full of strange devices all over his body. Candish kept him on board, desiring him to send his servants, who paddled his canoe, to bring the other six chiefs to the ship. They came accordingly, attended by a great train of the natives, bringing vast quantities of hogs and hens, and a full market of cocoa-nuts and potatoes; so that the English were occupied the whole day in purchasing, giving eight rials of plate for a hog, and one for a hen. At this place, a justly-merited punishment was inflicted on a Spanish pilot, taken in the Santa Anna, who had plotted to betray them to the Spaniards, and for which he was hanged. Candish remained here for nine days, all the time receiving ample supplies of fresh victuals, good water, and wood for fuel. The islanders are all pagans, who are said to worship the devil, and to converse with him. They are of a tawny complexion, and go almost naked; the men wearing a small square piece of cloth in front, woven from plantain-leaves, and another behind, which is brought up between their legs, both being fastened to a girdle round their waists. They are all circumcised, and have also a strange custom, hardly practised any where else but in Pegu, having a nail of tin in a perforation through the glans, which nail is split at one end and rivetted; but which can be taken out as they have occasion, and put in again. This is said to have been contrived, on the humble petition of the women, to prevent perpetrating an unnatural crime, to which they were much addicted.

On the 23d of January, Candish summoned all the caçiques of this island, and an hundred more, who had paid him tribute, and then revealed to them all, when assembled, that he and his men were Englishmen, and the greatest enemies the Spaniards had in the world. At the same time he generously restored them, in money, the value of all the tribute they had paid to him, in hogs, cocoa-nuts, potatoes, and the like. This unexpected generosity astonished the whole assembly, who applauded his bounty, and offered to join him with all the forces of their respective districts, if he would go to war with the Spaniards. They seemed much pleased with finding that Candish and his people were English, and thank-

ful

ful for the kindness with which they had been treated. On taking leave, they rowed round the ship awhile in their canoes, as if in compliment to the English; and Candish caused a gun to be fired at their departure.

Setting sail on the 24th, Candish ran along the coast of Luzon, steering N.W. between that island and *Masbate*. In the islands thereabout, the Spaniards were observed to keep a strict watch, making great fires, and discharging their pieces all night, having been much alarmed by the arrival of the English. The island of *Panama* is in many places plain and level, affording many large, tall, and straight trees, fit for masts, and has several mines of very fine gold, which are possessed by the natives. To the south of this is the island of the Negroes, which is very large, almost as big as England, and is in lat. 9° N.[3] It appeared to consist mostly of low land, and to be very fertile.

At six in the morning of the 29th of January, they began to pass through the straits between Panama and Negro islands, and, after proceeding sixteen leagues, they found a fair opening in these straits, trending S.W. by S. About this time, being rejoined by their boat, which had been sent before them in the morning, Candish sent a Spanish prisoner on shore, with a message to his captain, who commanded a ship which lay at Panama the night before, desiring him to provide an abundant supply of gold against the return of the Desire, as he meant to pay him a visit at Manilla, and as that was a long voyage, it merited good entertainment. He said farther, that he would have come now, to weigh some of his Spanish gold in English scales, if he had possessed a larger boat for landing his men on the island.

Proceeding on the voyage, they saw Batochina on the 8th of February, an island near Gilolo, in the lat. of 1° N. The 14th of that month they fell in with eleven or twelve small flat low islands, almost level with the sea, in lat. 3° 10′ S. near the Moluccas. March 1st, having passed the straits between Java Major and Java Minor, they anchored under the S.W. part of Java Major, where they saw some people fishing in a bay under the island. The admiral sent a boat to them,

[3] Negro island reaches from lat. 9° 15′ to 11° 45′ N. and is consequently two and a half degrees from N. to S. about 174 English miles, but does not any where exceed thirty miles from E. to W.—E.

them, in which was a negro who could speak the *Moresco*[4] language, which is much used in Java. But, being frightened at the approach of the boat, they all got on shore and ran away into the woods. One of them, however, came back to the shore, on being called to by the negro, and directed where to find fresh water; besides which, he undertook to carry a message to the king of that part of the island from the admiral, certifying that he had come to purchase victuals, or any commodities the country afforded. In consequence of this message, nine or ten canoes belonging to the king came off, on the 12th March, loaded with all sorts of provisions as deep as they could swim; bringing oxen, hogs, hens, geese, eggs, sugar, cocoa-nuts, plantains, oranges, lemons, wine, and arrack.

At the same time two Portuguese came off to visit Candish, and to enquire about their king, Don Antonio, then residing in England. These persons gave him a full account of the manners and customs of the people of this island. The king of this part was held in prodigious awe by his subjects, over whom he exercised absolute power, insomuch that no man was permitted to make a bargain without his leave, on pain of death. He had an hundred wives, and his son fifty; who may possibly be happy enough while he lives; but when he dies, and his body is burnt, and the ashes collected into an urn, the tragedy of his wives begins five days afterwards. They are then all conducted to an appointed place, where the favourite wife throws a ball from her hand, and where it stops marks the place of their deaths. Being come there, and turning their faces to the east, they all draw their daggers and stab themselves to the heart; after which they smear themselves with their own blood, and thus die.

The men of this island are excellent soldiers, being hardy, valiant, and desperate to the last degree, sticking at nothing commanded by their king, however dangerous; and, should he even command them to plunge a dagger into their own breast, or to leap from a precipice, or into a den of wild beasts, they instantly obey: For the displeasure of their sovereign is as certain death as the point of a sword, or the fangs of a beast of prey. Their complexion is tawny, like the other natives of India, and they go entirely naked; but their

[4] Probably the Malay is here meant, and called Moresco or Moors, an ordinary term for Mahometans.—E.

their women are of a fairer hue, and are more modestly cloathed than the men.

After this relation of the Portuguese, having satisfied the Javans for the provisions they had supplied, and received a promise of good entertainment to the English when they might return to their island, Candish took leave of them, making a present to their king of three large cannon. Next day, being the 16th of March, he made sail for the Cape of Good Hope, spending all the rest of that month, all April, and a part of May, in traversing the vast ocean between the island of Java and the southern extremity of Africa, making many observations on the appearances of the stars, the weather, winds, tides, currents, soundings, and bearings and positions of lands.

On the 11th of May, land was espied bearing N. and N. by W. and towards noon more land was seen bearing W. which was believed to be the Cape of Good Hope, being then about forty or fifty leagues from that southern promontory of Africa.[5] The wind being scanty, they stood off to the southwards till midnight; and, the wind being then fair, stood their course directly west. On the 12th and 13th they were becalmed, with a thick and hazy atmosphere. The weather cleared upon the 14th, when they again saw land, which proved to be Cape *Falso*, forty or fifty leagues short, or to the eastwards of the Cape of Good Hope.[6] This Cape Falso is easily known, having three hills directly over it, the highest in the middle, and only a little distance from each other; the ground being much lower by the sea-side. Besides which, the Cape of Good Hope bears W. by S. from this cape. They discovered the Cape of Good Hope on the 16th of May, observing the head-land to be considerably high, having two hummocks at the westerly point, a little off the main, and three others a little farther into the sea, yet low-land still between these and the sea. By the Portuguese the Cape of Good Hope is said to be 2000 leagues from Java; but by their reckoning they made it only 1850 leagues, which took them just nine weeks in the run.

By

5 Either this is a gross error, or it means that their reckoning still made that distance from the Cape, as nothing nearly approaching to such a distance can possibly be seen.—E.

6 Captain Falso is only ten leagues E. from the Cape of Good Hope; but perhaps Cape Aguillas may be meant in the text, which is about thirty-five leagues E.S.E. from the Cape.—E.

By break of day on the 8th June, they were within seven or eight leagues of St Helena, of which island they had merely a glimpse that day, as, having little or no wind, they had to stand off and on all night. Next day, having a tolerably good wind, they stood in with the shore, sending the boat before, and came to anchor in a good bay, under the N.W. side of the island, in twelve fathoms, only two or three cables length from the shore. This island lies in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean, almost at equal distances from the main land of Africa and that of Brazil, in lat. 15° 48′ S. between five and six hundred leagues from the Cape of Good Hope.

Candish went here on shore, and entered the church, to which there was a fair causeway; having a *frame between two bowls*, and a cross of freestone adjoining. Within it was hung with painted cloth, on which were represented the Blessed Virgin, the story of the Crucifixion, and other holy legends, hung round the altar. The valley in which this church stands is extremely pleasant, and so full of fruit-trees and excellent plants, that it seemed like a very fair and well-cultivated garden, having long rows of lemon, orange, citron, pomegranate, date, and fig-trees, delighting the eye with blossoms, green fruit, and ripe, all at once. These trees seemed nicely trimmed, and there were many delightful walks under the shelter of their boughs, which were pleasant, cool, and shady. At some distance there rises a fine clear spring, which diffuses itself in many fine rivulets, all through this valley, watering all its parts, and refreshing every plant and tree. In the whole of this great garden there is hardly any unoccupied space; as, where nature may have left any part empty, there art has supplied the deficiency, so as to fill the whole space to advantage. This island also affords great abundance of partridges and pheasants, both being larger than ours in England. There are also turkeys, both black and white, with red heads, about as large as those in England, and their eggs much the same, only altogether white. There is also plenty of *cabritos*, or wild goats, as big as asses, and having manes like horses, and their beards reaching down to the ground. These are so numerous, that their herds or flocks are sometimes a whole mile in length. It contains also vast herds of wild-swine, which keep chiefly in the mountains, as do likewise the wild-goats. These swine are very fat, but so excessively wild, that they are never to be got at by

by a man, unless when asleep, or rolling themselves in the mire.

Having taken in all necessaries that this place produced, Candish set sail for England on the 20th of June, standing N.W. by W. It is observable, that the wind at St Helena is generally off the shore. On Friday, the 23d of August, he steered E. and E. by S. for the northernmost of the Azores; and on the 29th, after midnight, he got sight of the islands of Flores and Corvo, in lat. 39° 30′ N. whence he shaped his course N.E. He met a Flemish vessel on the 3d September, bound from Lisbon, from which he had the joyful news of the total defeat of the Spanish Armada. On the 9th September, after receiving a farewell from the wind in a violent storm, which carried away most of his sails, Candish arrived at the long-desired haven of Plymouth.

There had not hitherto been any voyage of so much consequence, or attended by such uninterrupted success as this: As plainly appears from the length of time occupied by that of Magellan, which extended to three years and a month; that of Sir Francis Drake extending to upwards of two years and ten months; while this voyage by Candish was less than two years and two months. We need not wonder, therefore, that a young gentleman like Mr Candish, who was entirely devoted to a desire of acquiring glory and renown, should contrive some extraordinary manner of displaying his good fortune. Some accounts accordingly inform us, that he brought his ship into Plymouth harbour under a suit of silken sails, which, if true, may be thus explained. We have already mentioned, from his own narrative, that he encountered a violent storm, just before his arrival, which tore all his sails to pieces. In this distress, he would probably use those he had taken in the South Sea, made of what is called silk-grass, having a strong gloss and beautiful colour, which might easily deceive the eyes of the vulgar, and pass upon them for sails made of silk. This much is certain, however, that though he might be vain and expensive in such matters, yet all came fairly out of his own pocket; and those who had sailed with him, from the prospect of raising their fortunes, had not the least reason to complain, as he made a fair and full distribution of the prizes, by which he gained universal credit and esteem.

To shew his duty and diligence, as well as to discharge respectfully the obligations he owed his patron, Lord Hunsdon,

don, the near relation of Queen Elizabeth, and then lord-chamberlain, he wrote the following letter to him on the very day of his arrival at Plymouth.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Hunsdon, &c.

Right Honourable,

As your favour heretofore hath been most greatly extended towards me, so I humbly desire a continuance thereof; and though there be no means in me to deserve the same, yet the uttermost of my services shall not be wanting, whensoever it shall please your honour to dispose thereof. I am humbly to desire your honour to make known unto her majesty the desire I have had to do her majesty service in the performance of this voyage; and, as it hath pleased God to give her the victory over part of her enemies, so I trust, ere long, to see her overthrow them all. For the places of their wealth, whereby they have maintained and made their wars, are now perfectly discovered; and, if it please her majesty, with a small power she may take and spoil them all.

It hath pleased the Almighty to suffer me to circumcompass all the whole globe of the world, entering in at the Straits of Magellan, and returning by the Cape of Buena Esperança. In which voyage I have either discovered, or brought certain intelligence of, all the rich places of the world that ever were known or discovered by any Christian. I navigated along the coasts of Chili, Peru, and Nueva Espanna, where I made great spoils. I burnt and sunk nineteen sail of ships, great and small. All the villages and towns that ever I landed at, I burnt and spoiled; and, had I not been discovered upon the coast, I had taken a great quantity of treasure. The matter of most profit unto me was a great ship of the king's, which I took at California, which ship came from the Philippines, being one of the richest for merchandize that ever passed these seas, as the royal register, accounts, and merchants did shew; for it amounted in value to ***** in Mexico to be sold: which goods, for that my ships were not able to contain the least part of them, I was enforced to set on fire.

From the Cape of California, being the uppermost part of all New Spain, I navigated to the Philippine islands, hard upon the coast of China, of which country I have brought such intelligence as hath not been heard in these parts; the

stateliness

stateliness and riches of which country I fear to make report of, lest I should not be credited: for, if I had not known sufficiently the incomparable wealth of that country, I should have been as incredulous thereof as others will be that have not had the like experience.

I sailed along the islands of the Moluccas, where among some of the heathen people I was well intreated, and where our people may have trade as freely as the Portuguese, if they will themselves. From thence, I passed by the Cape of Buena Esperança; and found out, by the way homeward, the island of St Helena, where the Portuguese used to refresh themselves; and, from that island, God hath suffered me to return into England. All which services, together with myself, I humbly prostrate at her majesty's feet, desiring the Almighty long to continue her reign among us; for at this day she is the most famous and most victorious prince that liveth in the world.

Thus, humbly desiring pardon for my tediousness, I leave your lordship to the tuition of the Almighty.

Your honour's most humble to command,

Thomas Candish.

Plymouth, this 9th
of September, 1588.

There are many circumstances in this voyage, besides the wonderful facility with which it was accomplished, that deserve to be considered. As, for instance, the adventuring to pass a second time into the South Sea, after it was not only known that the Spaniards were excessively alarmed by the passage of Sir Francis Drake, but also that they had received succours from Spain, and had actually fortified themselves strongly in the South Sea. Also the nice search made by Candish, and the exact description he has given us of the Straits of Magellan, are very noble proofs of his skill and industry, and of his desire that posterity might reap the fruits of his labours. The attack of the Accapulco ship, likewise, considering the small force he had along with him, was a noble instance of true English bravery, which was justly rewarded by the queen with the honour of knighthood.

His account of the Philippines, and his description of several islands in the East Indies, are very clear and curious, and must at that time have been very useful; but particularly his map and description of China, which gave great lights

lights in those days. We may add to all this, the great care he took in the instruction of his seamen, many of whom afterwards distinguished themselves by navigating vessels in the same stupendous course, and thereby filling all the known world with the fame and reputation of English seamen. It is not therefore surprising that we find the best judges, both of our own and other nations, bestowing very high praise on this worthy gentleman, who, in the whole conduct of his voyage, shewed the courage and discretion of a great commander, with all the skill and diligence of an able seaman; of both which eminent characters he has left the strongest testimonies in his accurate account of this circumnavigation.

The wealth brought home by Sir Thomas Candish from this successful voyage must have been considerable; an old writer says it was sufficient to have purchased *a fair earldom,* a general and vague expression, having no determinate meaning. Whatever may have been the amount of the sum, which he acquired with so much hazard and so great honour, he certainly did not make such prudent use of his good fortune as might have been expected; for in the space of three years the best part of it was spent, and he determined to lay out the remainder upon a second expedition. We need the less wonder at this, if we consider what the writers of those days tell us, of his great generosity, and the prodigious expence he was at in procuring and maintaining such persons as he thought might be useful to him in his future naval expeditions, on which subject his mind was continually bent. Such things require the revenues of a prince; and as he looked upon this voyage round the world as an introduction only to his future undertakings, we may easily conceive that, what the world considered extravagance, might appear to him mere necessary disbursements, which, instead of lessening, he proposed should have laid the foundations of a more extensive fortune. All circumstances duly considered, this was neither a rash nor improbable supposition; since there were many examples in the glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth, of very large fortunes acquired by the same method in which he proposed to have increased his estate. Besides, it clearly appears, by his will, that he not only did not die in debt, but left very considerable effects behind him, notwithstanding his heavy expences, and the many misfortunes of his second expedition, of which it is proper to subjoin a brief account. —*Harris.*

In the Collection of Hakluyt, vol. IV. p. 341—355, is a long enumeration of nautical remarks, of the latitudes, soundings, distances of places, bearings of lands, variations of the compass, time spent in sailing between the several places enumerated, time of remaining at any of these, observations of winds, &c. &c. &c. written by Mr Thomas Fuller of Ipswich, who was master of the Desire in this voyage round the world; but which are too tedious and uninteresting for insertion.—E.

SECTION IV.

Second Voyage of Sir Thomas Candish, intended for the South Sea, in 1591.[1]

THOUGH not a circumnavigation, owing to various misfortunes, it appears proper to insert this narrative, giving an account of the unfortunate end of the renowned Candish, by way of appendix to his circumnavigation. From the happy success of his former voyage, and the superior strength with which he undertook the second, in which, after ranging the Spanish coast of the South Sea, he proposed to have visited the Philippine islands and China, he certainly had every reason to have expected, that the profits of this new enterprize would have fully compensated for its expences, and have enabled him to spend the remainder of his days in honourable ease and affluence.

The ships fitted out on this occasion, entirely at his own expence, were the galleon named the Leicester, in which Sir Thomas Candish embarked himself as admiral, or general of the expedition; the Roebuck vice-admiral, commanded by Mr Cocke; the Desire rear-admiral, of which Mr John Davis was captain;[2] the Dainty, a bark belonging to Mr Adrian Gilbert, of which Mr Randolph Cotton had the command; and a pinnace named the Black.

§. 1.

[1] Hakluyt, IV. 361.—This narrative, as we learn from Hakluyt, was written by Mr John Lane, or Jane, a person of good observation, who was employed in this and many other voyages.—E.

[2] The author of this narrative informs us that he sailed on this voyage along with Mr Davis.—E.

§. 1. *Incidents in the Voyage, till the Separation of the Ships.*

With this squadron we sailed from Plymouth on the 26th of August, 1591. The 29th November, we fell in with the bay of St Salvador on the coast of Brazil, twelve leagues to the N. of Cabo Frio, where we were becalmed till the 2d December, when we captured a small bark, bound for the Rio Plata, laden with sugar, haberdashery wares, and negroes. The master of this bark brought us to an isle, called Placencia, or *Ilha Grande*, thirty Portuguese leagues W. from Cabo Frio, where we arrived on the 5th December, and rifled six or seven houses inhabited by Portuguese. The 11th we departed from this place, and arrived on the 14th at the island of St Sebastian; whence Mr Cocke and Mr Davis immediately departed, with the Desire and the Black pinnace, on purpose to attack the town of Santos.

We anchored at the bar of Santos in the evening of the 15th, and went immediately in our boats to the town. Next morning about nine o'clock, we reached Santos, and being discovered, we immediately landed, being only twenty-four of us, our long-boat being still far astern. By this promptitude, we took all the people of the town prisoners in the church, being at mass, and detained them there all day. The great object of Sir Thomas Candish in assaulting this town was to supply our wants, expecting to have got every thing of which we stood in need, when once in possession: But such was the negligence of Mr Cocke, who commanded on this occasion, that the Indians were allowed to carry every thing out of the town in open view, and no one hindered them; and next day, our prisoners were all set free, only four poor old men being kept as pledges to supply our wants. By this mismanagement, the town of Santos, which could easily have supplied a fleet the double of ours with all kinds of necessaries, was in three days left to us entirely naked, without people, and without provisions. Sir Thomas Candish came up eight or ten days afterwards, and remained till the 22d January, 1592, endeavouring by treaty to procure what we were once possessed of, but to little purpose; and we were then forced to depart, through want of provisions, glad to procure a few baskets of cassavi meal, going away worse provided than we had come there. We accordingly left Santos on

on the 22d January, and burnt the town of St Vincent to the ground.

We set sail on the 24th, shaping our course for the Straits of Magellan. On the 7th February we had a violent storm, and on the 8th, our fleet was separated by the fury of the tempest. Consulting with the master of our ship, our captain concluded to go for Port Desire, in the latitude of 48° S. hoping that Sir Thomas would go there likewise, as he had found great relief there in his former voyage. Our captain had not been able to get directions, what course to take in such a contingency as had now occurred, though he had earnestly proposed such a measure. In our way, we fortunately fell in with the Roebuck, which had been in extreme danger, and had lost her boat. We arrived together at Port Desire on the 6th March. The Black pinnace came in there also on the 16th; but the Dainty came not, having gone back for England, leaving their captain, Mr Randolph Cotton, aboard the Roebuck, with nothing but the clothes he wore. He now came aboard our ship, being in great habits of friendship with Captain Davis.

On the 18th Sir Thomas brought the galleon into the roads, and came himself into the harbour in a boat he had got built at sea, for his long-boat and light-horseman were both lost during the storm, together with a pinnace he had set up at Santos. Being on board our ship, the Desire, Sir Thomas informed our captain of all his extremities, and complained severely of his company, and particularly of several gentlemen in his ship, proposing to go no more on board his own ship, but to proceed for the rest of the voyage in the Desire. We were all grieved to hear such hard speeches of our good friends; but having spoken with the gentlemen in the Leicester, we found them faithful, honest, and resolute in their proceedings, although it pleased our general to conceive of them otherwise.

The 20th March we departed from Port Desire, Sir Thomas being in the Desire with us. The 8th of April we fell in with the Straits of Magellan, having sustained many furious storms between Port Desire and the straits. The 14th we passed the first straits, and got through the second, ten leagues beyond the first, on the 16th. We doubled Cape Froward on the 18th, which cape is in 53° 30′ S. The 21st we were forced by a furious storm to take shelter in a small cove with our ships, four leagues beyond the cape, and on the

the southern shore of the straits, where we remained till the 15th of May; in which time we endured much distress, by excessive storms, with perpetual snow, and many of our men died of cold and famine, not having wherewithal to cover their bodies nor to fill their bellies, but living on muscles, sea-weeds, and water, with an occasional supply of meal from the ships stores.[3] All the sick men in the galleon were most uncharitably put on shore into the woods, exposed to the snow, the air, and the cold, which men in health could hardly have endured, where they ended their days in the utmost misery, Sir Thomas remaining all this time in the Desire.

Seeing these great extremities of cold and snow, and doubting a disastrous end to the enterprize, Sir Thomas asked our captain's opinion, being a person of great experience in the utmost parts of the north, to which he had made three voyages of discovery in the employ of the London merchants. Captain Davis said, that he did not expect the snow to be of long continuance, for which he gave sufficient reasons from his former experience, and hoped therefore that this might not greatly prejudice or hinder the completion of the enterprize. Yet Sir Thomas called all the company together, telling them that he proposed to depart from the straits upon some other voyage, either proceeding for the Cape of Good Hope, or back again to Brazil. The company answered, that they desired rather to wait God's favour for a wind, if he so pleased, and to submit to any hardships, rather than abandon the intended voyage, considering that they had been here only for a short time, and were now only forty leagues from the South Sea; yet, though grieved to return, they were ready to perform whatever he pleased to command. So he concluded to leave the straits, and make sail for the Cape of Good Hope.

When Sir Thomas Candish returned on board the Desire, from talking with the company, Captain Davis requested he would

[3] It would appear that this expedition had been very improvidently undertaken, with a very inadequate supply of provisions, and, as will afterwards appear, of naval stores, trusting perhaps to obtain supplies from the enemy, as had been attempted in vain at Santos. Either delayed by these views, or from ignorance, the passage through the straits was attempted at a very improper season, three months after the antarctic mid-summer and during the autumnal equinoctial gales. November, December, and January are the summer months, and best fitted for these high southern latitudes.—E.

would consider the extremity of our estate and condition, the slenderness of his provision, and the weakness of his men, being in no case for undertaking that new enterprise; as, if the other ships were as ill appointed as the Desire, it would be impossible to perform his new design, having no more sails then were then bent, no victuals, no ground tackle, no cordage save what was already in use; and, of seventy-five persons in the Desire, the master only had knowledge enough for managing the ship, and there were only fourteen sailors besides, all the rest being gentlemen, serving-men, or tradesmen. Captain Davis laid these persuasions before both the general and Mr Cocke; and in fine, in consequence of a petition, delivered in writing by all the chief persons of the whole company, the general determined to depart from the Straits of Magellan, and to return again for Santos in Brazil.

Accordingly, we set sail on the 15th of May, the general being now on board the galleon, his own ship. The 18th we were free of the straits; but on passing Cape Froward, we had the misfortune to have our boat sunk at our stern in the night, by which she was split and sore injured, and lost all her oars. The 20th of May, being athwart Port Desire, the general altered his course during the night, as we suppose, by which we lost him. In the evening he stood close by the wind to leewards, having the wind at N.N.E. and we stood the same course, the wind not altering during the night, and next day we could not see him. We were then persuaded that the general was gone for Port Desire in quest of relief, or that he had sustained some mischance at sea, and was gone there to seek a remedy. Our captain then called all hands together, the general's men among the rest, asking their opinion what was to be done, when every one said he thought the general was gone to Port Desire.

Our master, who was the general's man, and careful for his master's service, and also a person of good judgment in sea affairs, represented to the company how dangerous it was for us to go to Port Desire, especially if we should there miss the general; as we had now no boat wherewith to land, neither any anchors or cables which he could trust to in such rapid streams. Yet as we all concluded that it was most probable the general had gone there, we shaped our course for Port Desire, and on our way met the Black pinnace by chance, which had also parted company from the general,

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being in a miserable plight. So we both proceeded for Port Desire, where we arrived on the 26th of May.

§ 2. *Disastrous result of the Voyage to Sir Thomas Candish.*[2]

Various accounts of the disappointments and misfortunes of Sir Thomas Candish, in this disastrous voyage, are still preserved, but the most copious is contained in his own narrative, addressed to Sir Tristram Gorges, whom he constituted sole executor of his will. In this, Sir Thomas attributes his miscarriage to the cowardice and defection of one of his officers, in the following terms:—"The running away of the villain Davis was the death of me, and the decay of the whole action, and his treachery in deserting me the ruin of all."

In this letter he complained also of mutinies, and that, by adverse winds at S.W. and W.S.W. he had been driven 400 leagues from the shore, and from the latitude of 50° to that of 40° both S. He says also, that he was surprised by winter in the straits, and sore vexed by storms, having such frosts and snows in May as he had never before witnessed,[3] so that forty of his men died, and seventy more of them sickened, in the course of seven or eight days. Davis, as he says, deserted him in the Desire, in lat. 47° S. The Roebuck continued along with him to lat. 36° S. In consequence of transgressing his directions, Captain Barker was slain on land with twenty-five men, and the boat lost; and soon afterwards other twenty-five men met with a similar fate. Ten others were forsaken at Spiritu Santo, by the cowardice of the master of the Roebuck, who stole away, having six months provisions on board for 120 men, and only forty-seven men in his ship. Another mutiny happened at St Sebastians by the treachery of an Irishman, when Mr Knivet and other six persons were left on shore.

Intending again to have attempted passing through the straits, he was tossed up and down in the tempestuous seas of the Southern Atlantic, and came even at one time within two leagues of St Helena, but was unable to reach that island.

[2] This portion of the voyage is taken from the supplement in the Collection of Harris, to the circumnavigation of Sir Thomas Candish.—E.

[3] Sir Thomas Candish seems not to have been aware, that the month of May, in these high antarctic or southern latitudes, was precisely analogous with November in the high latitudes of the north, and therefore utterly unfit for navigation.—E.

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land. In his last letter, he declares that, rather than return to England after so many disasters, he would willingly have gone ashore in an island placed in lat. 8° in the charts. In this letter, he states himself to be then scarcely able to hold a pen; and we learn that he soon afterwards died of grief. The Leicester, in which Candish sailed, came home, as did the Desire. The Black pinnace was lost; but the fates of the Roebuck and the Dainty are no where mentioned.

The miscarriage of this voyage was certainly prejudicial to the rising trade and spirit of naval adventure in England. The ruin of Sir Thomas Candish threw a damp on such undertakings among the English gentlemen; and, on the return of these ships, several able and experienced seamen were turned adrift, to gain their livings as they best might. These thorough-bred seamen went to other countries; and, as knowledge is a portable commodity, they made the best market they could of their nautical experience in Holland and elsewhere. Among these was one Mr Mellish, who had been a favourite of Sir Thomas Candish, and the companion of all his voyages. This person offered his services to the East India Company of Holland, then in its infancy; and, his proposals being accepted, he was employed as pilot in the circumnavigation of Oliver van Noort, which falls next in order to be related.

§ 3. *Continuation of the Voyage of the Desire, Captain Davis, after parting from Sir Thomas Candish.*

Not finding our general at Port Desire, as we had expected, and being very slenderly provided, without sails, boat, oars, nails, cordage, and other necessary stores, and very short of victuals, we were reduced to a very unpleasant situation, not knowing how to proceed. Leaving ourselves, however, to the providence of the Almighty, we entered the harbour, and, by the good favour of God, we found a quiet and safe road, which we knew not of before. Having moored our ship, by the help of the boat belonging to the Black pinnace, we landed on the southern shore of the bay, where we found a standing pool, which might contain some ten tons of fresh water, by which we were greatly relieved and comforted. From this pool we took more than forty tons of water, yet left it as full as at first. At our former visit to this harbour,

harbour, we were at this very place and found no water, wherefore we persuaded ourselves that the Almighty had sent this pool for our relief. We found here such remarkably low ebbs as we had never before seen, by means of which we procured muscles in great plenty. Providence also sent such great abundance of smelts about our ship, that all the people were able to take as many as they could eat, with hooks made of crooked pins. By these means we husbanded the ship's provisions, and did not spend any of them during our abode at this place.

Considering what was best to be done in our present circumstances, that we might find our general, and as it was obvious we could not refit our ship for sea in less than a month, our captain and master concluded to take the pinnace and go in search of the general, leaving the ship and a considerable part of the men till the return of the general, who had vowed he would return again to the straits. Hearing of this determination, two pestilent fellows, named Charles Parker and Edward Smith, secretly represented to the men, that the captain and master meant to leave them to be devoured by cannibals, and had no intention to come back; on which the whole company secretly agreed to murder the captain, master, and all those who were thought their friends, among whom I was included. This conspiracy was fortunately known to our boatswain, who revealed it to the master, and he to the captain. To appease this mutiny the captain found it necessary to desist from his intentions, and it was concluded not to depart, but to wait at Port Desire for the return of the general. After this the whole company, with one consent, made a written testimonial of the circumstances by which we had lost company of the general, and the indispensable necessity of returning home.

In this testimony or protest, dated Port Desire, 2d June, 1592, it is represented, that the shrouds of the ship are all rotten, the ropes all so decayed that they could not be trusted; the sails reduced to one shift all worn, of which the topsails were utterly unable to abide any stress of weather; the ship unprovided with pitch, tar, or nails for repairs of any kind, and no means of supplying these wants; the provisions reduced to five hogsheads of salt pork, and such quantity of meal as admitted only an allowance of three ounces for a man each day, and no drink remaining except water. This instrument is signed by John Davis and Randolph Cotton, the captains

captains of the Desire and Black pinnace, and thirty-eight more, but the name John Jane, or Lane, does not appear among them.

After this, they proceeded to refit the ship with all expedition, for which purpose they built a smith's forge, making charcoal for its supply, and made nails, bolts, and spikes. Others of the crew were employed in making ropes from a piece of cable; and others again in all the necessary repairs of the ship, sails, and rigging; while those not fit for such offices, gathered muscles and caught smelts for the whole company. Three leagues from Port Desire there is an island, having four small isles about it, on which there are great abundance of seals, and where likewise penguins resort in vast numbers at the breeding season. To this island it was resolved to dispatch the Black pinnace occasionally, to fetch seals for us to eat, when smelts and muscles failed, for we could get no muscles at neap-tides, and only when the ebb was very low.

In this miserable and forlorn condition we remained till the 6th of August, 1592, still keeping watch on the hills to look out for our general, suffering extreme anguish and vexation. Our hope of the general's return becoming very cold, our captain and master were persuaded that he might have gone directly for the straits; wherefore it was concluded to go there and wait his coming, as there we could not possibly miss seeing him if he came. This being agreed to by the whole company, we set sail from Port Desire on the 6th August, and went to Penguin island, where we salted twenty hogsheads of seals, which was as much as our salt could do. We departed from Penguin island towards night of the 7th August, intending for the straits. The 14th we were driven among certain islands, never before discovered, fifty leagues or better from the shore, east-northerly from the straits.[4] Fortunately the wind shifted to the east, or we must have inevitably perished among these islands, and we were enabled to shape our course for the straits.

We fell in with the cape [Virgin] on the 18th of August, in a very thick fog, and that same night came to anchor ten leagues within the straits' mouth. The 19th we passed the first and second narrows, doubled Cape Froward on the 21st, and

[4] These are doubtless the Falkland Islands, or Malouines, but to which no name seems to have been affixed on this occasion.—E.

and anchored on the 22d in a cove, or small bay, which we named *Savage Cove*, because we here found savages. Notwithstanding the excessive coldness of this place, yet do these people go entirely naked, living in the woods like satyrs, painted and disguised in a strange manner, and fled from us like so many wild deer. They were very strong and agile, and threw stones at us, of three or four pounds weight, from an incredible distance. We departed from this cove on the 24th in the morning, and came that same day into the N.W. reach of the straits, which is its last or most western reach. On the 25th we anchored in a good cove, within fourteen leagues of the South Sea, where we proposed to await the return of our general, as the strait at this place is only three miles broad, and he could not possibly pass unseen.

After we had remained here a fortnight, in the depth of winter, our victuals fast consuming, and our salted seals stinking most vilely, our men fell sick and died pitifully, through famine and cold, as most of them had not clothes sufficient to defend them from the extreme rigour of winter. In this heavy distress, our captain and master thought it best to depart from the straits into the South Sea, and to proceed for the island of Santa Maria in lat. 37° S. on the coast of Chili, which is situated in a temperate climate, where we might find relief, and could wait for our general, who must necessarily pass by that island. We accordingly set sail on the 13th September, and came in sight of the South Sea. The 14th we were driven back into the straits, and got into a cove three leagues from the South Sea. We again stood out, and being eight or ten leagues free of the land, the wind rose furiously at W.N.W. and we were again forced to return into the straits, not daring to trust to our sails in any stress of weather. We again got into the cove, three leagues from the eastern mouth of the straits, where we had such violent weather that one of our two remaining cables broke, and we were almost in despair of saving our lives. Yet it pleased God to allay the fury of the storm, and we unreeved our sheets, tacks, halyards, and other ropes, and made fast our ship to the trees on shore, close by the rocks. We laboured hard to recover our anchor again, which we could not possibly effect, being, as we supposed, entirely covered over in the ooze.

We were now reduced to one anchor, which had only one whole fluke; and had only one old cable, already spliced in

two places, and a piece af another old cable. In this extremity of trouble it pleased God that the wind came fair on the 1st October, on which we loosed our land fastnings with all expedition, weighed our anchor, and towed off into the channel; for we had repaired our boat when in Port Desire, and got five oars from the Black pinnace. On weighing our anchor we found the cable sore broken, holding only by one strand, which was a most merciful preservation. We now reeved our ropes and rigged our ship the best we could, every man working as if to save our lives in the utmost extremity. Our company was now much divided in opinion as to how we should proceed for the best; some desiring to return to Port Desire, to be there set on shore, and endeavour to travel by land to some of the Spanish settlements, while others adhered to the captain and master: But at length, by the persuasion of the master, who promised that they would find wheat, pork, and roots in abundance at the island of St Mary, besides the chance of intercepting some ships on the coasts of Chili and Peru, while nothing but a cruel death by famine could be looked for in attempting to return by the Atlantic, they were prevailed upon to proceed.

So, on the 2d of October, 1592, we again made sail into the South Sea, and got free from the land. This night the wind again began to blow very strong at west, and increased with such violence that we were in great doubt what measures to pursue. We durst not put into the straits for lack of ground tackle, neither durst we carry sail, the tempest being very furious, and our sails very bad. In this extremity the pinnace bore up to us, informing she had received many heavy seas, and that her ropes were continually failing, so that they knew not what to do; but, unable to afford her any relief, we stood on our course in view of a lee shore, continually dreading a ruinous end of us all. The 4th October the storm increased to an extreme violence; when the pinnace, being to windward, suddenly *struck a hull,* when we thought she had sustained some violent shock of a sea, or had sprung a leak, or that her sails had failed, because she did not follow us. But we durst not *hull* in this unmerciful storm, sometimes *trying* under our main-course, sometimes with a *haddock* of our sail; for our ship was very *leeward*, and laboured hard in the sea. This night we lost sight of the pinnace, and never saw her again.

The 5th October, our foresail split, on which our master brought

brought the mizen-sail to the foremast to make the ship work, and we mended our foresail with our spritsail. The storm still continued to rage with the most extreme fury, with hail, snow, rain, and wind, such and so mighty that it could not possibly in nature be worse; the seas running so lofty, and with a continual breach, that we many times were in doubt whether our ship did sink or swim. The 10th, the weather dark, the storm as furious as ever, most of the men having given over labour from fatigue and in despair, and being near the lee-shore by the reckoning both of the captain and master, we gave ourselves up for lost, past all remedy. While in this extremity of distress, the sun suddenly shone out clear, by which the captain and master were enabled to ascertain the latitude, and thereby knew what course to steer, so as to recover the straits. Next day, the 11th October, we saw Cape Deseado, being the southern point of the entrance into the straits, for the northern point is a dangerous assemblage of rocks, shoals, and islands. The cape was now two leagues to leeward, and the master was even in doubt whether we might be able to steer clear of it; but there was no remedy, as we must either succeed or be irretrievably lost.

Our master, being a man of spirit, made quick dispatch, and steered for the straits. Our sails had not been half an hour abroad for this purpose when the foot-rope of the foresail broke, so nothing held save the oilet-holes. The sea continually broke over our poop, and dashed with such violence against our sails, that we every moment looked to have them torn to pieces, or that the ship would overset. To our utter discomfort also, we perceived that she fell still more and more to leeward, so that we could not clear the cape. We were now within half a mile of the cape, and so near shore that the counter surge of the sea so rebounded against the side of our ship, that the horrors of our situation were undescribably awful. While in this utmost extremity, the wind and the sea raging beyond measure, and momentarily expecting to be driven upon the rocks, our master veered away some of the main-sheet: Whether owing to this, or by some counter current, or by the wonderful interposition of God, our ship quickened her way and shot past the rock, where we all thought she must have perished. Between this and the cape there was a small bay, so that we were now somewhat farther from the shore; but on coming to the cape, we again looked for nothing but instant death; yet God, the father of mercy, delivered

delivered us, and we doubled the cape little more than the length of our ship. When past the cape, we took in all our sails, and, being between the high lands, the wind *blowing trade*, or steadily in the direction of the straits, we spooned before the sea under bare poles, three men being unable to manage the helm, and in six hours we were driven twenty-five leagues within the straits.

In this time we freed our ship from water, and when we had rested a while, our men became unable to move, their sinews being stiff, and their flesh as if dead. Many of them were so covered and eaten with lice, that there lay clusters of them in their flesh as large as peas, yea, some as big as beans. In this state of misery we were constrained to put into a cove to refresh our men, where we moored to the trees as we had done before, our only anchor being to seaward. We here continued till the 20th of October; and being unable to continue longer, through the extremity of famine, we again put off into the channel on the 22d, the weather being then reasonably calm. Before night the wind blew hard at W.N.W. The storm waxed so violent that our men could scarcely stand to their labour; and the straits being full of turnings and windings, we had to trust entirely to the discretion of the captain and master to guide the ship during the darkness of the night, when we could see no shore, and the straits were in some places scarcely three miles broad. When we first passed these straits, our captain made so excellent a draught of them, as I am confident cannot in any sort be made more correct. Which draught he and the master so carefully considered, that they had every turning, creek, and head-land so perfectly in their memory, as enabled them, even in the deepest darkness of the night, undoubtingly to convey the ship through that crooked channel.

The 25th October we came to an island in the straits, named Penguine Isle, where the boat was sent ashore to seek relief, as it abounded with birds, and the weather was calm; so we came to anchor near the island, in seven fathoms. While the boat was ashore, where we got abundance of penguins, there rose a sudden storm, by which our ship was driven over a breach, and our boat sunk at the shore. Captain Cotton and the lieutenant, who were both on shore, leapt into the boat, and freed it of water, throwing away the birds, and with great difficulty got back to the ship. All this time the ship was driving upon the lee-shore; and when we got on

on board, we helped to weigh the anchor and make sail. Thus, in a severe storm, we got clear of the straits on the 27th October; and on the 30th we got to that Penguin Island which is three leagues from Port Desire, where we purposed to seek relief. Immediately on coming to this isle, our boat was sent ashore, and returned laden with birds and eggs, the men reporting that the penguins were so thick on the isle, that even ships might be laden with them, as they could not step without treading on these birds; at which news we greatly rejoiced.

Then the captain appointed Charles Parker and Edmund Smith, with twenty others, to go on shore, and remain on the island, on purpose to kill and dry these penguins; promising to send others when the ship was safe in harbour, not only for expedition, but to save the small store of victuals that remained in the ship. But Parker and Smith, with the rest of their faction, remembering that this was the place where they intended formerly to have slain the captain and master, thought it was meant here to leave them on shore out of revenge, and refused to land. After some altercation, these men were allowed to proceed in the ship, and ten others were left in the island. The last day of October we entered the harbour of Port Desire. The master, having at our being there before taken notice of every creek in the river, ran our ship aground in a very convenient place on the sandy ooze, laying our anchor out to seawards, and mooring her with the running ropes to stakes on shore, in which situation the ship remained till our departure.

The 3d November our boat was sent off for Penguin Island, with wood and water, and as many men as she could carry; but, being deep laden, she durst not proceed, and returned again the same night. Then Parker, Smith, Townsend, Purpet, and five others, desired that they might go by land, and that the boat might fetch them from the shore opposite the isle, being scarcely a mile across. The captain bid them do as they thought best, only advised them to carry weapons, as they might meet with savages; so they accordingly carried calivers, swords, and targets, departing by land on the 6th November, while the boat went by sea. But these nine men were never more heard of. On the 11th, when most of our men were at the island, only the captain, master, and five more remaining in the ship, there came a great multitude of savages to the shore beside the ship, throwing dust into

into the air, leaping and running about like so many beasts, having vizards on their faces like dogs, or else their faces actually resembled dogs. We greatly feared they would have set the ship on fire, for they would suddenly make fire, at which we were greatly astonished. They came to windward of the ship, and set the bushes on fire, so that we were enveloped in a very stinking smoke; but coming within shot of us, we fired at them, and hitting one on the thigh, they all fled instantly away, and we never heard or saw them more. Hence we judged that these savages had slain our nine men, who were the ringleaders of those who would formerly have murdered our captain and master, with the rest of their friends; so that God evidently drew just judgment upon them, and we supplicated his divine Majesty to be merciful to us.

While we lay in this harbour, our captain and master went one day in the boat to see how far the river could be penetrated, that if need enforced us, it might be known how far we might proceed by water. They found that this river was only navigable by the boat for twenty miles. On their return, the boat was sent to Penguin Island, by which we learnt that the penguins dried to our entire satisfaction, and were in infinite numbers. This penguin is shaped like a bird, having stumps only in place of wings, by which it swims under water as swiftly as any fish. They live upon smelts, which are found in vast abundance on this coast. In eating, these penguins seem neither fish nor flesh. They lay large eggs; and the bird is about as large as two ducks. All the time we remained at Port Desire, we fared well on penguins and their eggs, young seals, young gulls, and other birds of which I know not the names, all of which we had in vast abundance. In this place also we found plenty of an herb called scurvy-grass, which we eat fried in seal-oil along with eggs, which so purified the blood, that it entirely removed all kind of swellings, of which many had died, and restored us all to as perfect health as when we first left England.

We remained in this harbour till the 22d of December, 1592, in which time we had dried 20,000 penguins. In this time also the captain, with the master and I, made some salt, by filling some holes in the rocks with sea-water, which in six days was changed to salt by evaporation, it being now Midsummer in this southern hemisphere. Thus did God feed us in the desert, even as with manna from heaven. The

22d

22d December we departed from Port Desire for Penguin island, where, with great difficulty, we got 14,000 of the dried birds on board, during which we had nearly lost our captian; and had not our master been very expert in the set of the tides, which ran in many cross directions, we had lost our ship.

We now shaped our course for Brazil, under a regulated allowance of provisions, so that our victuals might last six months, in which time we hoped we might get back to England, though our sails were very bad. This allowance was, two ounces and a half of meal for each man, two days only in the week, or five ounces for a week; three days a week, three spoonfulls of oil were allowed to each man; two days a week, a pint of peas among four men; and every day five dried penguins among four men, with six quarts of water each day to four men. With this allowance, praised be God, we lived, though weak and feeble.

The 30th January, 1593, we arrived at the isle of Placencia, or Ilha Grande, in Brazil, the first place at which we touched when outwards bound. The ship laying off at sea, the captain went aland in the boat with twenty-four men, being the whole night before he could reach the shore. He landed next day at sun-rise, hoping to catch the Portuguese in their houses, and by that means to procure a supply of casava meal; but on coming to the houses, we found them all burnt to the ground, so that we thought no one had remained on the island. The captain then went to the gardens, whence he brought a quantity of fruits and roots for the company, and returned on board. He then brought the ship into a fine creek, where she was moored to the trees on each side, at a place where we had plenty of fresh water. Our case being very desperate, we presently set to work to trim and repair our water-casks, the coopers making new hoops; while others laboured to repair the sails, keeping always a guard on shore, and every man having always his weapons ready at hand. The 3d February, thirty men well armed went to the gardens, three miles from where the ship lay, to dig cassavi-roots, to serve our company instead of bread. This was again repeated on the 5th. They laboured in quietness all the morning; and about ten o'clock, the heat being extreme, they came to a rock near the side of the wood, where they boiled cassavi-roots for dinner. After dinner, some went to sleep, and others to bathe in the sea, no one keeping

keeping watch, not a match lighted, nor even a piece charged. While in this unprovided state, and out of sight from the ship, there came suddenly upon them a multitude of Portuguese and Indians, who slew them all to the number of thirteen, two only escaping, one of these very sore hurt, and the other not touched, from whom we learnt the circumstances of this sad massacre.

We manned the boat with all speed, and went ashore, if happily we might succour our men; but we found them all slain, and laid naked in a row, with their faces upwards, and a cross set up beside them. We saw also two large pinnaces coming from Rio de Janeiro, full of men, who, as we supposed, were intended to take us. We were now much reduced, as of seventy-six persons we had on board when we left England, there were now only twenty-seven of us remaining, thirty-two having died formerly, and thirteen being slain in this place. Between those formerly slain by the savages at Port Desire, and those now in the island of Placencia by the Portuguese, all those who had conspired to murder our captain and master were now cut off, the gunner only excepted. Our casks were so greatly decayed, that we could not take in a sufficient supply of water, and what we had was exceedingly bad. Having lost several muskets on shore, which had belonged to our slain men, with good store of powder and shot, we expected to be beaten from our decks by means of our own weapons, by the Portuguese on the island, joined by those coming from Janeiro: and as we were moored to the trees, for want of cables and anchors, we were in dread of having our mooring ropes cut. In this miserable state we knew not what measures to pursue. To depart with only eight tons of bad water, and in bad casks, were to run the risk of starving at sea, and to remain seemed inevitable ruin. These were severe alternatives; but in our perplexity we preferred trusting to the hand of God than to the mercy of our enemies, and concluded to depart. Wherefore, on the 6th February, we unmoored and removed our ship into the channel, putting all our ordnance and small arms in readiness in case of an assault, and having a small gale of wind, we put to sea in deep distress.

Thus bemoaning our sad estate, and recounting our past misfortunes, we came to Cape Frio, being much crossed for three weeks by contrary winds, and our water running short, we were reduced to the utmost distress and perplexity. Some of

of the people were desirous of going into Bahia, and submitting to the Portuguese, rather than die of thirst; but our captain persuaded them against this measure. In this extremity, it pleased God to send us such abundant rain, that we were enabled to supply ourselves with water. On getting into the hot climate near the line, our dried penguins began to corrupt, and there bred in them many loathsome worms, an inch in length. These worms increased with astonishing rapidity, devouring our victuals so fast that we now seemed doomed to die of famine, as before of thirst. We were even in danger of being eaten up by these worms, which devoured every thing except iron. They so gnawed the timbers of our ship, that we feared they would eat holes through her sides. We used every possible contrivance to destroy these noisome vermin, but they seemed only to increase so much the more, so that at last they would eat our flesh, and bite us like mosquitoes when we were asleep.

In this woeful plight, after we had passed the equator towards the north, our men began to fall sick of a most terrible disease, such as, I believe, was never before heard of. It began with a swelling in their ankles, which in two days rose up as high as their breasts, so that they could not breathe. It then fell into the scrotum, which, with the penis, swelled in a most grievous manner, so that they could neither stand, walk, nor lie; and many of them became frantic with grief and distress. Our captain, with extreme distress of mind, was in so miserable a condition, that he wished to die; yet, while scarcely able to speak for sorrow, he continued to exhort us all to patience and reliance on God, desiring us to accept our chastisement like dutiful and thankful children. In this state of misery and wretchedness, several died raving mad, and others in a most loathsome state, or in dreadful pain and agony. None in the ship remained in perfect health, except the captain and one boy; the master also, though oppressed with extreme labour and anxiety, bore up with spirit, so that his disease did not overcome him.

At length all our men died except sixteen, five only of whom were able to move. These were, the captain, who was in good health, the master indifferent, Captain Cotton and myself swollen and short-winded, yet better than the other sick men, and the boy in good health. Upon us five the whole labour of the ship rested. The captain and master, as happened to be necessary, took in and left out the topsails

sails. The master by himself attended to the sprit-sail, and all of us the capstan, being utterly unable to work sheets and tacks. Our misery and weakness were so extreme, that we were utterly unable to take in or set a sail; so that our top-sails and sprit-sail were at length torn in pieces by the weather. The captain and master had to take their turns at the helm, where they were inexpressibly grieved and distressed by the continual and sad lamentations of our few remaining sick men.

Thus lost wanderers on the ocean, unable to help ourselves, it pleased God, on the 11th of June, 1593, that we arrived at Beerhaven in Ireland, and ran the ship there on shore. The Irish helped us to take in our sails, and to moor the ship so as to float her off next tide; for which slender aid it cost the captain ten pounds, before he could get the ship into a state of safety. Thus, without men, sails, victuals, or other means, God alone guided us into Ireland. Here the captain left the master and three or four more of the company to keep the ship; and within five days after our arrival, he and some others got a passage in a fishing-boat to Padstow in Cornwall. For the merciful preservation of this our small remnant, and our restoration to our country, be all honour and glory to God, now and for ever.—*Amen.*

CHAPTER IV.

VOYAGE OF OLIVER VAN NOORT ROUND THE WORLD, IN 1598—1601.[1]

INTRODUCTION.

THE inhabitants of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, after their separation from the Spanish monarchy, found themselves extremely at a loss for means to supply the expences of the long and vigorous war in which they were engaged for the defence of their liberties. This gave them the more uneasiness, as their great enemy, Philip II. carried on the war against them, more by the length of his purse than the force of his arms, and because the riches of the Spanish monarchy were derived from sources of commerce and colonization that were prohibited to them, even if they had submitted themselves to the yoke of Spain. The sense, therefore, of these difficulties, joined to the vast advantages they were likely to reap by overcoming them, induced the government and people of Holland to prosecute the advancement of trade in general with the greatest vigour, and particularly to establish a commercial intercourse with the East and West Indies, the great sources of wealth to their tyrannical oppressor and enemy, from whom they had revolted.

Among other inducements to this course of proceeding, they were not a little encouraged by the progress made by their neighbours, the English; seeing that even private persons, and with a small force, had been able to disquiet the Spaniards exceedingly; and had at the same time acquired great

[1] Harris, I. 31.—Two editions of this voyage were published in Dutch, both in folio; one at Rotterdam without date, and the other at Amsterdam in 1602. *Bib. Univer. des Voyages,* I. 115.

great riches to themselves. Another cause of attempting expeditions like the present, was their having failed in their first scheme of finding a new passage to the East Indies, than that with which the Spaniards and Portuguese were acquainted, which they had often and unsuccessfully endeavoured to explore by the north-east, with great hazard and expence. Their first voyages to the East Indies proving more fortunate even than they themselves had expected, they were tempted to proceed farther, and to distress their enemies likewise in the South Sea, which hitherto had only been done by the English.

The distressed states of Holland, however, were not hitherto so powerful at sea as to attempt acting offensively against the king of Spain on that element; but contented themselves with giving power and authority to any of their subjects who were inclined to venture upon expeditions of this nature, at their own risk and expence, so as at the same time to join their own private advantage with the public good, by fitting out squadrons for these distant and hazardous voyages. This policy, though arising in some measure from necessity, was conducted with such wisdom and address, that the king of Spain soon found himself more distressed by the armaments of the Dutch merchants, than by all the forces of the United States. This is a plain proof, that the surest way to render any government powerful, is to interest the people in general in its support: For this raises such spirit among them, and is followed by such unexpected consequences, as no art or force can withstand.

In the beginning of the year 1598, some eminent merchants in the united provinces, among whom were Peter van Bueren, Hugo Gerritz, and John Bennick, formed a design of sending some stout ships through the Straits of Magellan into the South Sea, to cruise against the Spaniards; to which design they were chiefly instigated by the reports of many English seamen, who had served in these parts, under Drake, Candish, and Hawkins, and other experienced officers. The purpose of the present expedition, was to cruise upon the coasts belonging to the Spaniards, and to force the enemy of peace to bear the expences of those wars in which he obliged other people unwillingly to engage. They also proposed by it to gain nautical experience, if it should be found practicable to continue the voyage by the Philippines, and so round by the Cape of Good Hope, circumnavigating the globe.

As the success of this important enterprise greatly depended upon the choice of a *general,* for so in these days the Dutch, and most other nations, denominated the commander in chief, whether by sea or land, the adventurers took great care to provide themselves with a person of established character, both in regard to conduct and courage. The person chosen on this occasion was Oliver van Noort, a native of Utrecht, in the flower of his age, and who had a strong passion to acquire glory. To him they communicated their scheme, which he readily embraced; and their terms being speedily adjusted, they proceeded to fit out two stout vessels, one named the Maurice, and the other the Henry Frederick, together with two yachts, called the Concord and the Hope, the whole being manned by 248 persons of all ranks and conditions.

Of this small fleet, Oliver van Noort was appointed admiral, and sailed in the Maurice; James Claas van Ulpenda was captain of the Henry Frederick, with the title of vice-admiral, Captain Peter van Lint commanded the Concord, and John Huidecoope was captain of the Hope. These were all men of experience in sea affairs, and capable of maintaining their authority on all occasions, and were all interested in the success of the voyage, by means of shares in the outfit; a proper precaution then, and ever since usual among the Dutch in all such cases, to prevent their expeditions from suffering by private views, or want of hearty concurrence in their officers; which, among other nations, is often the cause of failure, and for which this method is, perhaps, the only cure.

All things being in readiness, and crews provided for all the vessels, the proprietors presented a petition to the Board of Admiralty of Rotterdam, upon which all who were concerned were summoned to compeer: and, on the 28th June, 1598, the rules and regulations for the government of all concerned in this expedition, having been previously drawn up by the company of adventurers, revised by the admiralty and approved of by the Stadtholder, Prince Maurice, were publicly read over to them, and every man sworn to obey them. These sailing orders are called Artykelbreefs by the Dutch, and are never suffered to be put in force, till they have received this kind of sanction from the state, when they become the law of the voyage, to which all concerned are subject, and must undergo the penalties contained in them, for breach of any of the articles. This circumstance is worthy

thy of remark and imitation by other nations, and is a strong proof of the care paid by that republic to the commercial welfare of its citizens.

SECTION I.

Narrative of the Voyage.

On the 13th of September, 1598, the Maurice and Concord sailed from the port of Goeree; and, being joined by the Henry Frederick and Hope, from Amsterdam, the whole fleet proceeded for Plymouth, where their English pilot, Mr Mellish, who had been the companion of Sir Thomas Candish in his navigations, was to take in his apparel and other necessaries. They sailed from Plymouth on the 24th September, the wind then blowing a fresh gale at N.E. Next morning, being out of the channel, they perceived that the boat belonging to the vice-admiral was missing, in which were six men, which gave them considerable uneasiness, insomuch that they had some intention of returning to Plymouth in search of them. They met, however, with an English privateer, which soon made them alter their intentions; by assuring them that their men had run away with the boat, and could not be recovered, on which they resolved to proceed on their voyage. At this time considerable jealousies sprung up, respecting the capacity and conduct of the vice-admiral, which were soon increased by his losing his other boat and one man, and which could not be recovered by all their care. This carelessness occasioned much murmuring and discontent among the seamen, which the vice-admiral daily increased by his haughty behaviour, and by his contempt for advice, which no man needed more than he.

The 4th October, they met a small fleet of English, Dutch, and French ships, returning from Barbary, from whom they had accounts of a terrible pestilence then raging in that country, which had swept away 250,000 persons in a very short space of time. The 6th, they came between the islands of Teneriff and Grand Canary, and on the 3d November, they came in sight of the coast of Guinea. December 4th they were off Cape Palma, in lat. 3° 30′ N.[1] and on the 10th came in

[1] Cape Formosa is probably here meant, which is in 4° 18′ N.—E.

in sight of Princes Island, in lat. 1° N.[2] Sending their boats ashore to this island, carrying a flag of truce, they were met on the shore by a negro, bearing a similar flag, from whom they demanded a supply of provisions, which was accorded on fair and friendly terms; but, while settling the terms, they were suddenly surprised by a party from an ambush, which cut off several of them, one of whom was Mr Mellish, their English pilot. The Portuguese pursued them to their boats, which they briskly attacked, killing the admiral's brother, and had nearly captured the whole party. In revenge of this outrage, it was determined in a council of war to attack the castle; but finding this enterprize too hazardous, they contented themselves with burning all the sugar ingenios. After this exploit, having provided themselves with fresh water, they set sail on the 17th.

They reached Cape Gonçalves on the 25th, where the wind usually blows from the land all night, and from the sea all day. Here they found two Dutch ships, which informed them of the loss of Captain Sleerhagen and most of his company at Princes Island; as also of the voyage of Peter Verhagen, who had entered the river of Congo, and had afterwards buried thirty-eight of his company at Cape Gonçalves, whence he had gone some time before their arrival to Annobon.

January 1st, 1589, they passed the island of Annobon, in lat. 2° S. [1° 30′ S.] and on the 28th of that month had the sun in their zenith. The 5th of March they reached Cape St Thomas on the coast of Brazil, in lat. 22° S. [21° 15′]. The 6th they passed Cape Fair, and came that evening to Cape Frio, and on the 9th reached Rio de Janeiro. After some loss of time, and having several of their men cut off by their grand enemy the Portuguese, they went to the island of St Sebastian, in lat. 24° S. where the comforts of a good harbour, plenty of fresh water, and an abundant supply of wood gave them much satisfaction; but no fruits were to be had at that season.

They encountered a heavy storm on the 14th of March, by which the vice-admiral and the Hope were separated from the admiral, but they met again on the 17th. The scurvy now began to make rapid progress among the company; which, together with the approach of the antarctic winter, determined

[2] The latitude of Princes Island is 1° 40′ N.—E.

determined them to put in at St Helena. Missing that island, they next endeavoured to fall in with the island of Ascension, or some other island where they might procure refreshments; but their hard fortune brought them to a very barren and desolate island in the lat. of 20° 30′ S.[3] where they could procure no refreshments, except a few fowls called *Malle Mewen*,[4] which they knocked down with clubs.

Soon leaving this inhospitable place, they put to sea again, and on the 1st of June, while endeavouring to reach Ascension, they got back to the coast of Brazil. Not being suffered to land any where on the continent, they sailed to the isle of Santa Clara, an island of about a mile round, and as much from the continent, in lat. 21° 15′ S. This island afforded little else beyond herbs, but they found here a sour fruit resembling plums, which cured all their sick men in fifteen days. They sailed from thence for Port Desire, in lat. 47° 40′ S. on the 16th June, and reached that place on the 20th September, after enduring much bad weather. They procured abundance of penguins and fish, at an island three miles south from Port Desire; killing to the number of 50,000 penguins, which are nearly as large as geese, and procured a vast quantity of their eggs, by which their people were greatly refeshed, and the sick restored. Going up the river on the 5th October, and landing in the country, they found animals resembling stags, together with buffaloes, and ostriches in great numbers, and even found some of the nests of these birds, in which were as far as nineteen eggs. The 20th, the admiral went ashore to view the country, leaving orders with those who were left in charge of the boats, not to leave them a moment on any account: But they, having a mind also to see the country, ventured upon a short ramble, when they fell into an ambush of the savages, who slew three of their number, and wounded the fourth. These savages were very tall portly men, painted, and armed with short bows, and arrows headed with stone.

Leaving Port Desire on the 29th September, they reached Cape Virgin at the entrance into the Straits of Magellan on the 24th November. The land here is low and plain, and

[3] The island of Trinidad is nearly in the indicated latitude.—E.

[4] These were probably young unfledged sea-gulls, called in provincial English *Malls*, *Maws*, and *Mews*, not unlike the Dutch names in the text; where perhaps we ought to read Malle *or* Mewen.—E.

and from the whiteness of the coast somewhat resembles the chalk cliffs of England in the channel. In many attempts to enter the straits, they were beaten back by tempests of wind, accompanied by rain, hail, and snow. They lost their anchors, and broke their cables, and sickness, together with contention, which is worse than any disease, were added to their other calamities. All these so retarded the progress of the voyage, that it was near fifteen months after leaving Holland before they could make their way into the straits. They observed the land to trend from Cape Virgin to the S.W. and the mouth of the straits to be fourteen miles distant from that cape, and half a mile wide.[5] On the 25th November, they saw some men on two islands near Cape Nassau, who shook their weapons at the Hollanders, as in defiance. The Dutch landed, and pursued the savages into a cave, which they bravely defended to the last man, and were all slain on the spot. Going now into this dark cave, the Dutch found the women and children of the slain savages, when the mothers, expecting present death to themselves and their infants, covered their little ones with their own bodies, as if determined to receive the first stab. But the Dutch did them no other injury, except taking away four boys and two girls, whom they carried on ship board.

From one of these boys, after he had learnt the Dutch language, they had the following intelligence. The larger of the two islands was named *Castemme* by the natives, and the tribe inhabiting it *Enoo.* The smaller island was called *Talche.* Both were frequented by great numbers of penguins, the flesh of which served the natives as food, and their skins for cloathing. Their only habitations were caves. The neighbouring continent abounded in ostriches, which they also used as food. The natives of these dreary regions were distinguished into tribes, each having their respective residences. The *Kemenetes* dwelt in *Kaesay;* the *Kennekin* in *Karamay;* the *Karaiks* in *Morina:* All these are of the ordinary size, but broad-breasted, and painted all over; the men tying up their pudenda in a string, and the women covering their parts of shame with the skins of a penguin; the men wearing their hair long, while that of the women was kept very short; and both

[5] These must necessarily be Dutch miles, 15 to the degree, each equal to nearly 4.66 English miles. By the mouth of the straits in the text, must be understood what is called the Narrows of the Hope.—E.

both sexes going naked, except cloaks made of penguin skins, reaching only to the waist. There was also a fourth tribe, called *Tirimenen*, dwelling in *Coin*, who were of a gigantic stature, being ten or twelve feet high,[6] and continually at war with the other tribes.

The 28th November, the navigators went over to the continent, or north side of the straits, seeing some whales at a distance, and observed a pleasant river, about which were some beautiful trees with many parrots. Owing to this fine prospect, they called the mouth of this river *Summer Bay*. The 29th they made sail for *Port Famine*, where the land trends so far to the south, that the main land of Patagonia and the islands of Terra del Fuego seemed, when seen afar off, to join together. They found here no remains of the late city of King Philip, except a heap of stones. The straits are here four miles wide, having hills of vast height on both sides, perpetually covered with snow. At Port Famine they cut down wood to build a boat, and found the bark of the trees to be hot and biting like pepper.[7] Not finding good water at this place, and indeed doubting if it were Port Famine, they proceeded onwards, and found a good river two miles farther west on the 1st December. Next day they doubled Cape Froward, with some danger, on account of bad anchorage and contrary winds.

Passing four miles beyond this cape, they anchored in a large bay, where was a plant resembling sneezwort, which they found serviceable in the scurvy; also another plant, which rendered those who eat of it distracted for a time. They here fell in with two ships belonging to the fleet under Verhagen, which had been driven back out of the South Sea, one of which was commanded by Sebaldt de Weert, who told them he had been five months in the straits, and had only thirty-eight remaining out of 110 men, and not being able to bear up against the storms in the South Sea, had been forced to put in here, while the rest of the fleet under Verhagen held on

[6] This absurdity might be pardoned in the ignorant savage boy, who knew neither numerals nor measures; but in the grave reporters it is truly ridiculous, and yet the lie has been renewed almost down to the close of the eighteenth century.—E.

[7] The Wintera aromatica, the bark of which is called Winter's bark, said to have been first discovered by Captain Winter in 1567, on the coast of Terra Magellanica. The sailors employed this bark as a spice, and found it salutary in the scurvy.—E.

on their course.[8] These ships wished to have joined the expedition under Van Noort, but were forced to remain in the straits for want of provisions, which the others could not spare. They afterwards got back to Holland on the 13th July, 1600.

Van Noort and his ships left this bay on the 2d January, 1600, directing their course for Maurice bay, which they found to extend far to the eastwards, and to receive several rivers, the mouths of which were filled with vast quantities of ice, which seemed never to melt. It was now near midsummer of this southern clime, and the ice was so thick that they could not find its bottom with a line of ten fathoms. The land here seemed a congeries of broken islands, yet appearing like one continued mass, owing to the height of the mountains. They were here much distressed by hunger and continual rains, and two of their men were slain by the savages, while gathering muscles, which formed their chief subsistence. After weathering many storms in *Meniste* bay, and having several encounters with the savages, they set sail on the 17th, and were driven into Penguin bay, or Goose bay, three miles from Meniste bay, and receiving its name from the vast multitude of penguins found there. At this place, James Claas van Ulpenda, the vice-admiral, was arraigned before a council of war, for various breaches of the articles sworn to before proceeding on the voyage. Having a fair trial, and sufficient time allowed him for his defence, he was condemned to be turned ashore in the straits, with a small supply of provisions, and allowed to shift for himself among the wild beasts and more savage inhabitants, which sentence was accordingly executed, so that he doubtless soon fell a prey either to hunger or the natives, who are implacable enemies to all strangers.

They entered another bay on the 1st February, which they called Popish bay, probably owing to some cross erected on its shore, and in which they were exposed to much danger. On the 27th, thay saw at a distance a huge mountain of ice in Penguin bay. The 28th they passed Cape Deseado, or Desire, into the South Sea, bidding adieu to the many dismal prospects of the Straits of Magellan. Their company, originally

[8] The voyage of Verhagen, or so much of it rather as relates to the adventures of Sebaldt de Weert, follows the present voyage of Van Noort in the Collection by Harris, vol. I. pp. 37-44; and is, therefore, retained in the same situation on the present occasion.—E.

originally 248 men, was now reduced to 147, but was soon still farther lessened by losing company of the Henry Frederick, which never rejoined. Waiting for that ship in vain till the 12th March, they sailed to the island of Mocha on the coast of Chili, in lat. 38° 22′ S. and six miles [twenty English] from the continent. This island is remarkable by a high mountain in the middle, which is cloven at the top, and whence a water-course descends into the vale land at its foot. They here bartered knives and hatchets with the natives for sheep, poultry, maize, *bartulas*,[9] and other fruits. The town consisted of about fifty straw huts, where the Dutch were regaled with a sour kind of drink, called *cici*, made of maiz steeped in water, which is the favourite drink of the Chilese at their feasts. Polygamy is much practised among these people, who buy as many wives as they can afford to maintain; so that a man who has many daughters, especially if they be handsome, is accounted rich. If one man kill another, he is judged by the relations of the deceased, as they have no laws or magistrates among them, so that the murderer may sometimes buy off his punishment by giving a drinking-bout of *cici*. Their cloathing is manufactured from the wool of a large kind of sheep, which animal they also employ to carry burdens. They would not sell any of these, but parted freely with another kind, not very different.

From thence they went to the island of St Mary, in lat. 37° S. eighteen miles [ninety-five English] from Mocha, where they fell in with a Spanish ship carrying lard and meal from Conception to Valdivia in Araucania, which they chased and took. The pilot of this ship informed them that they would not be able to return to the island of St Mary, owing to the south wind, and that two Spanish ships of war were waiting for them at Arica. Upon this information they resolved to sail for Valparaiso, and by that means quite lost all chance of being rejoined by the Henry Frederick, which might otherwise have got up with them. Besides, they concluded that the missing ship had failed to find St Mary's isle, owing to its being wrong placed in the map of Plancius, in lat. 38° S. which error they themselves had fallen into, had they not been set right by the observations of Mr Mellish. They were farther confirmed in the resolution of not returning

[9] This probably means battatas or potatoes, a native production of Chili. —E.

ing to the island of St Mary, by hearing of the misfortune which had there befallen Simon de Cordes, who was there butchered with twenty-three of his men, after being invited on shore in a friendly manner by the Indians, owing to the treachery of the Spaniards endeavouring to get possession of his two ships, and sending intelligence to Lima and all about the country of the arrival of the Dutch in these seas, with a list of their ships, and the names of all their commanders. For these reasons they proceeded to Valparaiso, where they took two ships and killed some Indians, but all the Spaniards escaped on shore. Valparaiso is in lat. 35° 5′ S. And about eighteen miles inland, [100 English miles] is the town of St Jago, abounding in red wine and sheep. They kill these animals merely for the sake of their tallow, with which alone they load many vessels. Here they received letters from the captain of the Flying Hart, one of the squadron under Verhagen, who had been treacherously captured by the Spaniards; owing, as he alleged, to the wrong placement of the island of St Mary in the map, by which he had been misled.

At Valparaiso they intercepted some letters giving an account of the wars in Chili between the Spaniards and the Indians, who it seems were in rebellion, had sacked the town of Valdivia, putting vast numbers of Spaniards to the sword, and carrying off many captives. They burnt the houses and churches, knocking off the heads of the popish images, crying, "Down go the gods of the Spaniards." They then crammed the mouths of these images with gold, bidding them satisfy themselves with that, for the sake of which their votaries had committed so many barbarous massacres of their nation. They afterwards laid close siege to the city of Imperial, and had almost starved the Spanish garrison into a surrender. The valiant Indians who undertook this enterprise were about 5000, of whom 3000 were cavalry, 100 were armed with muskets, and 70 had corslets, all of which were plunder they had taken from the Spaniards. They so mortally hate the Spaniards, that they rip up the breasts of all they overcome, tearing out their hearts with their teeth, and they delight to drink their favourite liquor from a cup made of a Spaniard's skull.

These Indians [the Araucans] are for the most part very stout, and skilful soldiers, and commit the management of all their military affairs to the direction of one supreme general, whose orders are implicitly obeyed. Their method of election

tion to this high dignity is very singular; for he who carries a certain log of wood on his shoulders the longest, and with the smallest appearance of weariness, is saluted general by the army. In this trial several carried the log four, five, and six hours; but at length one carried it twenty-four hours on end, and this person was now general. The whole of Chili, from St Jago to Valdivia, is one of the most fertile and most delightful countries in the world. It abounds in all kinds of cattle and fruit, has many rich gold mines, and its climate is so sweet and salubrious as to exclude the use of medicine, being health and life in itself.

They entered the bay of Guasco[10] on the 1st April, where they remained till the 7th. The 11th they came into a large bay, named *Moro Gorch*, in lat. 18° 30′ S. ten miles from which is *Moro Moreno*, from which the shore runs to Arica, and all this coast, up to the hill of St Francis, is very much subject to south winds, though the adjoining seas have the winds variable and uncertain. On the 20th the whole air was darkened by an *Arenal*, which is a cloud of dust, and so thick that one cannot see a stone's throw. These are raised by the wind from the adjoining shore, and are very common in these parts. The 25th they were within view of the famous city of Lima in Peru. At this time they learnt the value of the treasure of which the Spaniards had deprived them, in the ships they took on the coast of Chili. Nicholas Peterson, the captain of one of these prizes, acquainted Van Noort that he had been informed by a negro of a great quantity of gold having been on board the ship, as he believed to the amount of three tons, having helped to carry a great part of it on board. On this information the admiral closely examined the Spanish pilot, who at first denied all knowledge of any gold; but another negro having corroborated the information, with some farther circumstances, the pilot at last owned that they had on board fifty-two chests, each containing four arobas of gold, and besides these 500 bars of the same metal, weighing from eight to ten and twelve pounds each; all of which, together with what private stock belonged to any of the company, the captain had ordered to be thrown overboard in the night, when first chased, amounting in the whole to about 10,200 pounds weight of gold; and,

[10] Perhaps Huasco in lat. 28° 27′ S. or it may possibly have been Guacho, in 25° 50′ S.—E.

and, from its fineness, worth about two million pieces of eight, or Spanish silver dollars. Upon this the admiral ordered the ship and all the prisoners to be searched, but there was only found a single pound of gold dust, tied up in a rag, in the breeches pocket of the Spanish pilot. The prisoners owned that all this gold was brought from the island of St Mary, from mines discovered only three years before; and that there were not more than three or four Spaniards on that island, and about 200 Indians, only armed with bows and arrows.

The 5th September they came in sight of the Ladrones, and came on the 16th to Guam, one of these an island of about twenty Dutch miles in extent, and yielding fish, cocoa-nuts, bananas, and sugar canes, all of which the natives brought to the ships in a great number of canoes. Sometimes they met 200 of these canoes at one time, with four or five men in each, bawling out *hiero, hiero*, meaning iron; and often in their eagerness they run their canoes against the ships, overturning them and losing all their commodities. These islanders were a sly subtle people, and honest with good looking after; for otherwise, they would sell a basket of cocoa-nut shells covered over with a small quantity of rice, as if full of rice. They would also snatch a sword from its scabbard, and plunge instantly into the water, where they dived like so many ducks; and the women were as roguish as the men, stealing as impudently, and diving as expertly to carry off their prizes.

The 17th of September they sailed for the Philippines; and on the 20th they met with ice, though then only in the latitude of 3° N.[11] On the 16th October they came to Bayla bay, in a very fertile land, at which place they procured abundance of all kinds of necessaries for their ships, by pretending to be Spaniards. The Spaniards, who are lords here, make the Indians pay an annual capitation tax, to the value of ten single rials for every one above twenty years of age. The natives of these islands are mostly naked, having their skins marked with figures so deeply impressed, [*tatooed*] that they never wear out. Being discovered to be Dutch, but not till they had gained their ends, they sailed for the Straits of Manilla, all the coasts near which appeared waste, barren, and

[11] This surely is an error for 13°, Guam being in lat. 13° 20′ N. yet even here, the fact of meeting ice so far within the tropic is sufficiently singular.—E.

and rocky. Here a sudden squall of wind from the S.E. carried away some of their masts and sails, being more furious than any they had hitherto experienced during the voyage. The 23d some of the people went ashore, where they eat palmitoes and drank water so greedily, that they were afterwards seized with the dysentery. The 24th they entered the straits, sailing past an island in the middle, and came in the evening past the island of Capul, seven miles within the straits, near which they found whirlpools, where the sea was of an unfathomable depth, so far as they could discover.

They now crowded sail for Manilla, which is eighty miles from Capul, but wanted both a good wind to carry them, and good maps and a skilful pilot to direct them to that place. The 7th November they took a junk from China, laden with provisions for Manilla. The master of this junk told them there were then at Manilla two great ships, that come every year from New Spain, and a Dutch ship also which had been brought from Malacca. He said also that the town of Manilla was walled round, having two forts for protecting the ships, as there was a vast trade to that place from China, not less than 400 junks coming every year from Chincheo, with silk and other valuable commodities, between Easter and December. There were also two ships expected shortly from Japan, laden with iron and other metals, and provisions. The 15th they took two barks, laden with hens and hogs, being part of the tribute to the Spaniards, but became food to the Dutch, who gave them a few bolts of linen in return.

They passed the islands of *Bankingle* and *Mindoro*, right over against which is the island of *Lou-bou*, at the distance of two miles, and between both is another small island, beside which there is a safe passage for ships. The island of Luzon is larger than England and Scotland,[12] and has a numerous cluster of small islands round about it; yet is more beholden to trade for its riches, than to the goodness of its soil. While at anchor, in 15° N. waiting for the ships said to be coming from Japan, Van Noort took one of them on the 1st December, being a vessel of fifty tons, which had been twenty-five days on her voyage. Her form was very strange, her forepart being like a chimney, and her furniture corresponding to her shape; as her sails were made of reeds,

[12] Luzon is certainly a large island, but by no means such as represented in the text.—E.

reeds, her anchors of wood, and her cables of straw. Her Japanese mariners had their heads all close shaven, except one tuft left long behind, which is the general custom of that country. The 9th, they took two barks, one laden with cocoa wine and arrack, and the other with hens and rice.

The 14th of December they met the two Spanish ships returning from Manilla to New Spain, on which a very sharp engagement took place. Overpowered by numbers, the Dutch in the ship of Van Noort were reduced to the utmost extremity, being at one time boarded by the Spaniards, and almost utterly conquered; when Van Noort, seeing all was lost without a most resolute exertion, threatened to blow up his ship, unless his men fought better and beat off the Spaniards. On this, the Dutch crew fought with such desperate resolution, that they cleared their own ship, and boarded the Spanish admiral, which at last they sunk outright. In this action the Dutch admiral had five men slain, and twenty-six wounded, the whole company being now reduced to thirty-five men. But several hundreds of the Spaniards perished, partly slain in the fight, and partly drowned or knocked in the head after the battle was over. But the Dutch lost their pinnace, which was taken by the Spanish vice-admiral; and this was not wonderful, considering that she had only twenty-five men to fight against five hundred Spaniards and Indians.

After this action, Van Noort made sail for the island of Borneo, the chief town of which island is in lat. 5° N. while Manilla, the capital of Luçon, is in lat. 15° N. On the way to Borneo, they passed the island of *Bolutam*, [Palawan or Paragua,] which is 180 miles in length from N. E. to S. W. They came to Borneo on the 26th December, putting into a great bay, three miles in compass, where there was good anchorage, and abundance of fish in a neighbouring river, and the fishermen always ready to barter their fish for linen. Van Noort sent a message to the king, desiring leave to trade; but suspecting them to be Spaniards, he would come to no terms till his officers had examined them with the utmost attention, after which they had trade for pepper with a people called *Pattannees*, of Chinese origin. Both these and the native Borneans were fond of Chinese cotton cloth, but the linen from Holland was a mere drug, and quite unsaleable. In the mean time, the Borneans laid a plot to surprise the ship; for which purpose, on the 1st January, 1601, they came with at least an hundred praws full of men, pretending to

to have brought presents from the king, and would have come on board the ship; but the Dutch, suspecting their treachery, commanded them to keep at a distance from the ship, or they would be obliged to make them do so with their shot, on which the Borneans desisted.

Borneo is the largest of all the islands in the East-Indies; and its capital, of the same name, contains about 300 houses, but is built in a dirty marshy soil, or rather in the water, so that the inhabitants have to go from one house to another in their praws. The inhabitants all go constantly armed, from the noble down to the fisherman; and even the women are of so martial a disposition, that on receiving an affront, they instantly revenge it, either with a dagger or a javelin. This a Dutchman had nearly proved to his cost; for having offended one of these viragoes, she set upon him with a javelin, and had surely dispatched him, if she had not been prevented by main force. They are Mahometans, and so very superstitious, that they would rather die than eat of swine's flesh, nor will they keep any of these animals about them. The better sort have a cotton garment from the waist down, with a turban on their heads; but the common people go entirely naked. They continually chew betel and areka, which is also a common practice in many other parts of India.

On the 4th January, four Borneans came to the ship, intending to have cut the cables, that she might drive on shore and become their prey; but the Dutch fortunately discovered them, and drove them away with shot, when they left their praw behind, which the Dutch took, to serve instead of their own boat, which they had lost at the Philippines. Seeing no hope of any profitable trade at this place, they now left it, intending for Bantam, not much pleased either with the country or the people. The day after leaving Borneo, they met a junk from Japan bound for Manilla, which informed them of a great Dutch ship being forced by tempests into Japan, all her company having died by sickness and famine except fourteen. They came first to *Bongo*, in lat. 34° 40′ N. [Bungo in about lat. 33° N.] whence the emperor of Japan ordered them to remove to *Atonza*, in lat. 36° 30′ N. [Osaka in lat. 34° 55′ N.] They alleged that they were allowed to trade, and to build a new ship, with liberty to dispose of themselves afterwards as they pleased. From this account, it was not doubted that this was the admiral of Verhagen's fleet;

fleet;[13] and dismissing the Japanese vessel, they passed the line a third time, and proceeded for Bantam, in no little fear and danger, for want of an experienced pilot and good charts.

The 16th they took a junk belonging to Jor or Johor, in which they procured an experienced and skilful pilot, who came in good time to save them from shipwreck, which they had otherwise most probably suffered in these dangerous seas, so thick set with shoals and islands on every side, with which they were entirely unacquainted; and besides, they were now reduced to one anchor, and one solitary cable almost worn out. The 28th they came to Jortan in the island of Java, where they had news of several Dutch ships being at Bantam. The city of Jortan consists of about 1000 houses built of timber, and its king commands over a considerable portion of that end of the island, and had lately conquered *Balambuan,* a small island S.E. from Jortan. The people in these parts are said to be Mahometans; yet, as pagods are still in use, they seem to retain some mixture of the old Indian superstitions, or at least some remnant of paganism is tolerated among the common people. Their chief priest at this time was an old man, said to be an hundred and twenty years of age, who had a large household of wives, who fed the old man with their milk.

Sailing past Jortan, they saw a large Portuguese ship of 600 tons, sticking fast among the shoals. She was bound for Amboina, on purpose to have engrossed all the trade of that place; at least such was the report of the Portuguese; but Van Noort strongly suspected she had been sent out to cruize for the purpose of intercepting him. He was, therefore, the less concerned for her misfortune, and the less careful in assisting her crew, originally of between six and seven hundred men, many of whom were still on board, and in great danger of perishing. The 5th of February, they passed the straits between *Balambuan* and *Bally,* leaving Java on the N.E.[14] On the 11th, finding themselves in lat. 13° S. they directed

[13] This was the ship in which William Adams sailed as pilot, as related on a former occasion, being the Hope, commanded by James Mahu, one of five ships from Rotterdam. We have already had occasion to meet with two of these in the Straits of Magellan.—E.

[14] This is an obvious error, as the Straits of Bally are at the *east* end of Java, which they must consequently have left on the N.W. of their course.—E.

directed their course for the Cape of Good Hope. On the 18th, having the sun vertical at noon, their latitude was 11° 20′ S. and here a calm began which lasted eleven days. The 11th March they were in lat. 24° 45′ S. and in 28° 10′ S. on the 24th.

The 19th of April, having been considerably retarded by cross winds and calms, they were under the necessity to lessen their allowance of water. At night of the 24th they observed light, as of a fire, on land, about four miles to the N.W. although they reckoned themselves 200 miles from the cape, and were not aware of having approached any other land. The 25th, being calm weather, they were enabled to mend their sails, and at night another fire was observed; and in the morning of the 26th they saw land. The 3d May they saw land between the east and north, about six miles off, resembling the end of an island, by which they reckoned themselves near the cape, and now shaped their course for the island of St Helena, where they arrived on the 26th. They here refreshed themselves with fish and some flesh, and laid in a supply of wood and water; but found goats and fowls hard to be got, and could not procure any oranges.

Leaving St Helena on the 30th May, they crossed the line for the fourth time on the 14th of June; and on the 16th met a fleet of six Dutch ships, under Admiral Heemskirk, bound for India. These had fought with thirteen Spanish ships near the island of Sal, and had lost their pinnace and vice-admiral; the former having been taken by the Spaniards, and the latter having parted company. The 8th July they were in lat. 27° N. when they fell in with considerable quantities of the sea-weed called *saragossa*. By the 13th they were in lat. 32° 30′ N. after which they had a calm of fifteen days, the sea being all covered with weeds. The 22d they had to go upon short allowance of bread, and that too much worm eaten. August 1st, being in lat. 40° N. they passed the island of Flores, forty-five miles to the westward, by their estimation. They met three ships belonging to Embden on the 18th, from whom they procured bread and flesh, in exchange for rice and pepper; and from whom they learnt that they were so near England, that they might expect to see the Lizard next day. About noon of the 26th August, 1601, they arrived in safety before the city of Rotterdam, where they were received with the utmost joy, on their return from so

long and perilous a voyage, which had occupied three years, bating eighteen days.

SECTION II.

Voyage of Sebald de Weert, to the South Sea and Straits of Magellan, in 1598.[1]

"THOUGH not a circumnavigation, it seems necessary to give an account of this voyage of Sebald de Weert, by way of supplement to that of Oliver de Noort; because De Weert was fitted out with the intention of sailing by the Straits of Magellan to India, and because it is difficult to find so good a description of these famous straits as he has given. De Weert was one of the best seamen in Holland, and lived to distinguish himself afterwards by many more successful enterprises; and I persuade myself, the reader will be pleased to see the firmness of an able commander, struggling against a long series of misfortunes. This has always been esteemed one of the best written, and most curious of all the Dutch voyages, and is therefore given at large."[2]—*Harris.*

§ I. *Incidents of the Voyage from Holland to the Straits of Magellan.*

The fleet fitted out for this expedition consisted of the Hope of 500 tons, with 130 men, commanded by James Mahu, admiral; the Love or Charity of 300 tons, and 110 men, commanded by Simon de Cordes, vice-admiral; the Faith of 320 tons, and 100 men, of which Gerard van Beuningen was captain; the Fidelity of 220 tons, with 86 men, captain Jurian Buckholt; and a yacht of 150 tons and 112 men, called the Merry Messenger, captain Sebald de Weert. These five ships were well provided with all manner of provisions, cannon, small arms, ammunition, money, merchandise, and stores necessary for a long voyage; and the pilot on whose knowledge and experience they chiefly depended, was an

[1] Harris, I. 36.

[2] So far Harris; but on the present occasion several trivial and minute circumstances are omitted or abbreviated.—E.

an Englishman named William Adams,[3] besides whom there were three other Englishmen on board the admiral.

The fleet sailed from the road of Goeree in the Maese on the 27th June, 1598; but, owing to contrary winds, had to remain at anchor in the Downs on the coast of England, till the 15th July. The wind being then fair, they set sail on that day, and on the 19th were on the coast of Barbary. Towards the end of August, they arrived in the harbour of St Jago, one of the Cape de Verd islands, where they remained till the 10th September, although the climate was very unhealthy, and the pilots, particularly Mr Adams, remonstrated against continuing there; by which the officers were so much offended, that they resolved never more to call the pilots to council, which seems to have been the source of all their subsequent misfortunes, and of that restless spirit of mutiny and discontent, which possessed the seamen in this fleet.

In the afternoon of the 11th September, they were off the desert island of Brava, and the bottom being rocky, so that they could not anchor, they stood off and on all night, and coasting along next morning they found some fresh water, which was hard to be got, as the ships could not come to anchor, on account of a bad bottom. The boats, however, of Captains Beuningen and Buckholt, went ashore with empty casks, which they filled and brought on board, though then night and the ships under way. Captain de Weert went ashore in a small sandy bay, and looking about for fresh water, he saw some Portuguese and negroes coming towards him, who told him the French and English ships used to get fresh water near that place, but remained always under sail. They said also, that no refreshments were to be had at this island, but these might be had in the island of Fuego. After the departure of the islanders, de Weert discovered four or five ruinous small huts, the door of one being walled up, which he found full of maize. On this discovery, he remained there with three men, lest the Portuguese might carry off the maize in the night, and sent some others in the boat to give notice to the admiral of this discovery. Fortunately a small vessel belonging to the bishop of St Thomas, taken by the

[3] Of the adventures of this person in Japan, we have formerly had occasion to give an account in vol. VIII. p. 64, of this Collection, preceded by a brief abstract of the voyages of Sebald de Weert.—E.

the Dutch at Praya, arrived in the bay, to which de Weert removed all the maize. He also took two female sea tortoises, in which were above 600 eggs, of which they made many good meals. The Portuguese and negroes, finding the Dutch busied in carrying away their maize, came down the mountain, making a great noise; but de Weert, having two fusils, fired at them and made them retire.

On the return of de Weert, he found the admiral very sick, and a council assembled in the Hope. He in the first place advised them to remain no longer at the Cape Verd islands, and then resigned his command to the vice-admiral, de Cordes. On advising with the other captains, and learning the quantity of water in each ship, de Cordes gave orders that such as had most should give part to the others, and that the allowance of provisions and water should be diminished, and as fresh water was not to be expected for three or four months, they were directed to gather rain-water when that could be had. The greatest part of the men in the admiral's ship being sick, two or three of them were removed into each of the other ships, in exchange for sound men. The fleet sailed from Brava on the 15th September, and on the 22d a signal was made from the admiral for the other captains. They found the admiral, James Mahu, beyond hope of recovery; and that night he and his supercargo, Daniel Restau, both died. He was of a mild and gentle disposition, honest, careful, diligent, and very kind to the seamen, and was much lamented by the whole fleet. Opening the letters of the directors of the expedition, which were directed to be opened in such a case, de Cordes was appointed admiral, and Beuningen vice-admiral; Sebald de Weert being promoted to the command of the Faith, and Dirke Gernitsz China to that of the yacht. These alterations did not please the seamen, who were attached to their former commanders.

By the 4th October, the scurvy raged much among the seamen, especially in the Hope, on which de Cordes ordered a day of prayer to be observed in the fleet, to implore the mercy of God and a happy voyage. They were then in the lat. of 1° 45′ S. At length the scurvy increased so much in the Hope, that the admiral had not men enough to work his ship, and it was resolved to steer for some island where fresh provisions might be procured. They steered accordingly for Annobon, where they hoped to get fresh meat and oranges.

Towards

Towards night, the admiral, who sailed in the van, fired a gun as a signal of seeing land, though all the pilots then thought the land at the distance of 100 leagues. They accordingly approached the land, and anchored on the coast of *Manicongo*, in lat. 3° S.[4] They here lost company of the small ship belonging to St Thomas, in which were eleven sound men, and some thought she had deserted, while others thought she had run aground: But they afterwards found she had gone to Cape Lope Gonzalves, where the men quitted her, going aboard the ship of Baltazar Musheron, which was bound to America.

After several ineffectual attempts to procure refreshments for their men on the coast of Africa and the island of Annobon, they put to sea on the 3d January, 1599, from that island, with the intention of sailing direct for the Straits of Magellan. The 22d they passed the shelves and rocks on the coast of Brazil, called the *Abrolhos*. The 9th March, one of the seamen in the vice-admiral's ship was hanged, for repeatedly breaking open the cupboard belonging to the cook and stealing bread. About this time, the sick beginning to recover, got such good appetites that their allowance was not sufficient. The 12th, being near the Rio Plata, the sea appeared as red as blood, and some of the water being drawn up was found full of small red worms, that leaped out of it like fleas.

2. *The Fleet passes through the Straits of Magellan into the South Sea, and is forced to return.*

The 6th of April, the fleet got into the Straits of Magellan, and towards evening cast anchor under the smaller of the two Penguin isles, fourteen leagues within the mouth of the straits. They here saw vast numbers of those birds called *plongeons* or divers, because they dive into the water to catch fish. They killed there ten or fourteen of them with sticks, and might have killed as many as would have served the whole fleet, but would not lose the opportunity of a fair wind. The 9th they proceeded through the straits; and next day the admiral sent fifty men on shore, to look for inhabitants or cattle, but after travelling three leagues along shore, they found

[4] The latitude in the text falls near Point Palmas, on the coast of Yumba, in what is called the Kingdom of Congo. Mayumba bay, perhaps the Manicongo of the text, is in lat. 4° 30′ S.

found nothing. They arrived in a fine bay on the 15th, twenty-one leagues from the mouth of the straits, called *Muscle bay* by the English, because of the great quantities of muscles found there, and here they provided themselves abundantly with fresh water and wood. The 17th they sailed between two rocky shores, so close and so high that they hardly thought to have got through. The mountains on both sides were covered with snow. On the 18th, they cast anchor in a bay on the north side of the straits, in lat. 54° S. called *Great bay*, having good anchorage on fine sand. In this bay there are three small islands, the least of which is farthest east.

In these parts, there grow great quantities of trees, resembling bay trees, but somewhat higher, the bark of which is very bitter, and has a hot taste like pepper.[1] They here found abundance of muscles, some of which were a span long, and when boiled, the fish of three of them weighed a pound. The wind being contrary, they lay here at anchor till the 23d of August,[2] without taking the sails from the yards, to be ready to sail on a change of wind. In the mean while they suffered much from cold, in so much that they lost above an hundred men, among whom was Captain Buckholt, who was succeeded by Baltazar de Cordes. Storms were so frequent and violent during this time, that the ships could not ride quietly at anchor, and the seamen were forced to be continually at work to keep them right. They were also forced to go often on shore, in rain, snow, and hail, to get in fresh water, wood, muscles, and such other food as they could find, by which they were greatly fatigued. The scarcity of victuals was so great, and the climate so severe, that they were almost starved with hunger and cold, and their appetites so insatiable, that they devoured roots or any thing else they could find, raw and uncooked. Most of the seamen had no watch-coats or other warm cloathing, to enable them to support the fatigue of watching and their daily labour, having made no provision of such things, as they believed themselves bound

[1] In Harris these are erroneously called *Pimento,* but they must have been the *Wintera aromatica.* The Pimento, or *Myrtus Pimenta*, is a native of the warm regions of America and the West India islands, producing Pimento, All-spice, or Jamaica pepper.—E.

[2] This date, here anticipated, refers to the day when they afterwards set sail.—E.

bound to warm climes. To remedy this evil, the general ordered cloth to be distributed among them.

It was found that many of the seamen, when at their meals, were in use to sell their victuals to others at high prices, and afterwards satisfied their hunger with raw muscles and green herbs, which occasioned them to fall into dropsies and other lingering sickness, of which several died: For this reason, the captains and other officers were ordered to be present at all their meals, to see and oblige them to eat their allowances.

The 7th May the vice-admiral was sent, with two boats, to an island opposite Great bay, to catch sea-dogs.[3] He found there seven small boats or canoes, with savages on board, who were of a reddish colour with long hair, and, as well as he could observe, seemed *ten or eleven feet high.* On seeing the Dutch boats, the savages went on shore and threw many stones at the Dutch, so that they did not venture to land. The savages then took courage, and came towards them in their canoes; and coming within musket-shot, the vice-admiral made his men give them a general discharge, by which four or five of the savages were slain, and the rest so frightened that they escaped again on shore. They then pulled up some trees, which appeared afar off to be a span thick; but the vice-admiral chose to let them alone, and returned to the ships. The 26th of May, as some seamen were on shore, looking for muscles, roots, and herbs, and were dispersed, expecting no danger, a number of savages fell upon them suddenly, killed three of them, whom they tore in pieces, and wounded two, who were rescued by the admiral. All these savages were naked, except one, who had the skin of a sea-dog or seal about his shoulders. They were armed with wooden javelins, which they threw with great strength and dexterity. The points of these javelins were like cramp-irons, tied to the shafts with the guts of sea-dogs, and would run so deep into the flesh, that it was almost impossible to get them out.

While the fleet lay in this bay, the admiral ordered his long-boat to be put upon the stocks, to be enlarged and altered into a pinnace, which was named the Postillion, and the command of her was given to the second pilot of the Hope. Having no provisions for making broth, Captain de Weert landed on the 27th July, in order to catch seals; and while he

3 Seals are probably here meant.—E.

he was ashore, so great a storm arose that he was obliged to remain two days and two nights, before he could get back to his ship, and caught nothing. After enduring great hardships in this *Green bay*,[4] and which the Dutch named the Bay of de Cordes, they set sail on the 23d of August, having the wind at N.E. but next day the weather became so calm, that they were obliged to put into a great bay on the south side of the straits. Here, to perpetuate the memory of so dangerous and extraordinary a voyage into these straits, to which no nation had hitherto sent so many or such large ships, the general instituted a new order of knighthood, of which he made his six principal officers knights. They bound themselves by oath, never to do or consent to any thing contrary to their honour or reputation, whatever might be the dangers or extremities to which they were exposed, even death itself; nor to do or suffer to be done any thing prejudicial to the interests of their country, or of the voyage in which they were now engaged. They also solemnly promised, freely to expose their lives against all the enemies of their nation, and to use their utmost endeavours to conquer those dominions whence the king of Spain procured so much gold and silver, by which he was enabled to carry on the war against their country. This ceremony was performed ashore on the eastern coast of the straits, in as orderly a manner as the place and occasion would permit, and the order was named of *The Lion set free*, in allusion to the Belgic lion, the cognizance of their country, which they professed to use all their endeavours to free from the Spanish yoke. After this ceremony, a tablet was erected on the top of a high pillar, on which the names of the new-made knights were inscribed, and the bay was named the *Bay of Knights*.

Leaving this bay on the 28th of August, they put into another bay a league farther on, where they were again becalmed. The admiral at this time gave orders to Captain de Weert to go back in his boat to the Bay of Knights, to remove the tablet to a more convenient situation. When about to double the point of the bay on this errand, de Weert saw eighty savages sitting on the shore, having eight or nine canoes beside them; and, as soon as the savages saw the boat, they set up a dismal noise, inviting the Dutch to land, by means of signs. But, having only a small number of men, de Weert turned back

[4] This seems the same formerly named Great bay.—E.

back towards the ships; on which the savages ran across the woods along shore, always hallowing, and making signs for the Dutch to land. When the general was informed of this adventure, he dispatched three boats well armed on shore, but the savages were not to be seen, though they had left their marks behind them, having dug up the interred body of a Dutchman, and left his body on the ground, barbarously disfigured. On going to the knights tablet, the Dutch also found it had been broken by the savages.

Early in the night of the 3d September, they got out from the Straits of Magellan into the South Sea, with a fair wind, and continued their voyage to the W.N.W. with the wind at N.E. till the 7th, having all that time fine weather. This day, however, the sea began to swell and rise so high, that the vice-admiral had to lie to and hoist his boat on board, which was likewise done by the Fidelity. While de Weert was sailing directly in the wake of the admiral, who led the fleet, an accident happened on board the yacht, which had the wind of the Fidelity, which obliged both the Faith and the Fidelity, the former being de Weert's ship, to furl their sails, and lie to for assisting the yacht. The admiral continued his course, thinking that the other ships continued to follow him, and that the fog prevented them from being seen by the watch. The vice-admiral also was obliged to furl his sails shortly after, the fog being so thick as to prevent them from seeing each other, though very near.

On the 8th the two yachts lost sight of the ships, but these three kept company all that day; and next day the whole fleet rejoined to their great joy. After joining, Derick Geritz sent the Postillion to the admiral, to request the assistance of his carpenters; but they were sick, and those from the Faith and Fidelity went on board the yacht. This proved afterwards a serious loss to these ships, as they never got their carpenters back. The wind shifted all of a sudden, and the sea became so rough and stormy that the yacht had to furl her sails, as was done by the vice-admiral, who was ahead of the Faith, and by the Fidelity. In the ensuing night the yacht and vice-admiral made sail again, without advertising the other two ships by signal, so that they continued to lie to. When day broke next morning, Captains Baltazar de Cordes and Sebalt de Weert, of the Fidelity and Faith, were extremely troubled at not seeing any of the other ships. De Weert, who was now the senior captain, was also much troubled by the unprovided state of his ship, having no master,

ter, only two old pilots, and a very small number of seamen, mostly sick and weak through the cold and damp weather, though they kept a fire burning night and day.

The N.E. wind became so violent on the 16th September, that the two ships were every moment in danger of sinking. The gallery of the Faith was rent open above an inch, and the sea broke so violently over the Fidelity, that her men were almost constantly up to their knees in water. She likewise sprung a leak, owing to which they were forced to keep her pumps constantly going day and night, yet could hardly keep her afloat. At last, after much search, the leak was found and stopt. In this deplorable situation these two ships remained for twenty-four hours, *spooning* under bare poles. The seamen also became much dissatisfied, though allowed two ounces of dried fish a day to each man, with a reasonable quantity of biscuit. But they were much discontented with this scanty allowance, having been used in the straits to fill themselves with muscles, of which they could not now brook the want, so that the captains had much ado to pacify them.

In the night of the 26th September they fell in with the land to the north of the straits by mistake, thinking themselves to have been twenty leagues from the land; and in the morning the Faith was in great danger, as the wind drifted her towards the coast, on which were two rocks, which they avoided with the utmost difficulty. The Fidelity, which was a considerable way in front, had discovered the rocks in time, and had easily given them a wide birth. They were only three leagues from the straits when they fell in with the land; and as the westerly wind now blew so hard that they were unable to bear up against it, the two captains now resolved to regain the straits, and to wait there in some safe road or bay for a fair wind, when they did not doubt of rejoining the other ships, as it had been agreed to wait at the island of St Mary on the coast of Chili for two months, in case of separation. About evening, therefore, of the 27th September, they arrived at the southern point of the straits' mouth, and were drifted by the current six or seven leagues within the straits, where they anchored in a very good road.

§ 3.

§ 3. *Incidents during their second Residence in the Straits of Magellan.*

From the 27th to the 30th of September they had tolerably good weather, but the wind then began to blow so furiously from the S.W. that they were forced to drop three anchors a-piece to keep them from being driven on shore. As the summer of these antarctic regions was now approaching, they were in hopes of fair weather; yet during two months that they remained in the straits, they scarcely had a fair day in which to dry their sails. For twenty days that they remained in this bay, to which they gave the name of the *Bay of Trouble*, they endured incredible hardships, being forced to go on shore daily in search of a few birds, which, with muscles and snails found upon the rocks, formed their sorry subsistence. Being unable to subsist any longer in that bay, they set sail on the 18th October, and found a better bay about a league farther within the straits. The 22d they were nearly destroyed by a violent storm, but the weather became calm next day. The constant employment of the seamen was to go on shore in search of muscles for their sustenance at low water, and when the tide was in to fetch wood and fresh water, so that they had no time to dry themselves, though they kept up a good fire continually. In short, during the whole nine months spent in these straits, now and formerly, they scarcely had an opportunity once to dry their sails, so frequent were the returns of rain and storms. The men also were exposed to wet, cold, and high winds, which kept them continually uncomfortable, and always at work. The seamen now began to murmur, alleging there would not be enough of biscuit for their return to Holland, if they remained here any longer. Having notice of this, de Weert went into the bread-room, as if to examine their store; and, on coming out, he declared, with a cheerful countenance, there was enough of biscuit and other provisions for eight months, though in fact there was not more than sufficient for four.

At length, on the 2d December, the wind changed to the N.E. and they immediately weighed anchor, but could not get out into the South Sea, owing to whirlwinds rising from between the high hills and the bottom of the bay. The Faith was driven at one time so near the shore that a person might

have

have stepped ashore from her gallery, and had certainly been lost if the wind had not abated. Next day, the storm being over, the two ships got out of Close bay, as they called it, with the ebb, but they never afterwards anchored together, and that day they cast anchor at the distance of a league from each other. The 8th of December they had a more violent storm than ever, which lasted two days, and during which the waves rose sometimes higher than the masts. The storm abating on the 10th, de Weert went in his boat, intending to go aboard the Fidelity; but on doubling the point which lay between them, was overwhelmed with grief to see no ship, nor any signs of shipwreck, so that he thought she had foundered. Going next day farther towards a gulf, he was rejoiced to see a mast behind a low point, where he found the Fidelity, with which ship he had to leave his small boat to assist in fishing for her anchors and cables, which she had lost in the late storm. He then took his leave, returning to his own ship, little dreaming he had taken his last farewell of Captain de Cordes.

The 10th, going ashore in the boat for victuals as usual, and having doubled a point, they saw three canoes with savages, who went immediately on shore, and scrambled up the mountains like monkeys. The Dutch examined the canoes, in which were only a few young divers, some wooden grapnels, skins of beasts, and other things of no value. Going on shore to see if the savages had left any thing, they found a woman and two children, who endeavoured to run away, but was taken and carried on board, shewing few signs of fear or concern. She was of a middle size and reddish colour, with a big belly, a fierce countenance, and her hair close cut as if shaven, whereas the men wear their hair long. She had a string of snail-shells about her neck by way of ornament, and a seal's skin on her shoulders, tied round her neck with a string of gut. The rest of her body was quite naked, and her breasts hung down like the udders of a cow. Her mouth was very wide, her legs crooked, and her heels very long.

This female savage would not eat any of their boiled or roasted meats, so they gave her one of the birds they had found in the canoes. Having pluckt off the long feathers, she opened it with a muscle shell, cutting in the first place behind the right wing, and then above the stomach. After that, drawing out the guts, she laid the liver a short time on the fire, and eat it almost raw. She then cleaned the gizzard,

zard, which she eat quite raw, as she did the body of the bird. Her children eat in the same manner, one being a girl of four years of age, and the other a boy, who, though only six months old, had most of his teeth, and could walk alone.[1] The woman looked grave and serious at her meal, though the seamen laughed heartily at her strange figure, and unusual mode of feeding. She afterwards sat down on her heels like an ape; and she slept all gathered up in a heap, with her infant between her arms, having her breast in his mouth.

After keeping her two days on board, de Weert set her on shore, giving her a gown and cap, with necklace and bracelets of glass beads. He gave her also a small mirror, a knife, a nail, an awl, and a few other toys of small value, with which she seemed much pleased. He cloathed the boy also, and decorated him with glass beads of all colours; but carried the girl to Holland, where she died. The mother seemed much concerned at parting with her daughter, yet went into the boat without resistance or noise. She was carried to the shore, a league west from the ship, to a place which she pointed out, where the seamen found a fire and some utensils, which made the seamen believe that the savages had run away on seeing the boat.

When the boat returned, a new storm arose, during which the waves often overtopped the masts, and tossed the ship so violently that they momentarily expected she would have been overset or split in pieces; but, by the blessing of God, she got out of this bay, to which they gave the name of *Unfortunate Bay*. Next day they cast anchor towards evening in the channel of the straits, but finding the anchor had no buoy attached, and the weather being too violent to allow of supplying one, they had again to weigh, and put before the wind, and at length got into the bay of Cordes, fourteen or fifteen leagues farther eastwards, near the middle of the straits. In this passage they kept as near as possible to the south side of the channel, that they might be seen by the Fidelity, and even fired a gun off the mouth of a bay in which they supposed she lay, as a signal, to which they imagined that they heard another gun in answer from their consort, and

[1] They had no means to ascertain his age, and must have concluded him only six months old from his small size; but from his teeth and walking alone, he was more likely to have been two years old, and his diminutive size was probably occasioned by the miseries of the climate, and wretchedness of every kind to which these outcasts of nature are subjected.—E.

and continued their course in the full belief of being followed by the Fidelity. In this passage the strength of the wind drove them so fast, that they had to fasten their boat astern with two strong hawsers to preserve her, and to diminish the velocity of their course; but the heavy rolling waves broke both hawsers, and they lost their boat, by which they were reduced to great difficulty, having now no means of getting on shore in search of provisions.

Next day, being the 16th December, they saw a boat making towards them from the westwards, which occasioned various conjectures; but at length turned out to belong to the fleet of Van Noort. This unexpected meeting gave great joy to the seamen, and the men in this boat were received with much respect by de Weert. They were all in perfect health and vigour; and, among other things respecting their voyage, told of having caught above 2000 birds at the great Penguin Island. This intelligence made the sailors in the Faith extremely anxious to get there, and several of them were bold enough to tell Captain de Weert, that it was necessary they should go there, where they might as well wait for a fair wind as in any other place, and besides, that it was only a league out of their way. But de Weert declared he would on no account part company from Van Noort. This general came in person next day to visit de Weert; and the day following, being the 18th December, the whole fleet joined him. The wind changing to S. W. on the 22d, they all set sail; and after proceeding two or three hours, de Weert requested the loan of a boat from general Van Noort, with three or four men, that he might go before to direct Captain de Cordes to get ready to sail with the fleet; but he could not find the Fidelity.

The Faith was now grown very foul, and unable consequently to keep up with the fleet; for which reason, being off the Bay of Knights, where she met the ebb current, she was forced to go in there. The 23d she was again opposed by adverse currents in a narrow channel, and unable to follow the other ships. The 24th they tried again, but were unable to get round a point, behind which the fleet of Van Noort lay at anchor; and finding it impossible to double that point with the present wind, de Weert resolved to wait till it changed, that he might not fatigue his men by persisting in vain attempts. But, although the wind was contrary, Van Noort proceeded farther on, in search of a more secure anchorage,

chorage, by which de Weert lost sight of the fleet, though not far off, in consequence of an intervening high point of land.

Despairing of being able to rejoin the fleet of Van Noort, and finding it impossible to subsist his men without a boat, de Weert ordered the pieces of one which were in the hold to be taken out, that they might be put together. This was on the 25th December; but having the wind at north next day, he attempted to get next day into a small bay, a league farther on than the Bay of Knights, in which the boat might be more conveniently built: but the violence of the wind forced him back into the Bay of Cordes, five leagues farther to the east. Here, on the 26th and 27th, they endured so great a storm, that the seamen began to murmur again, as having been a whole fortnight without procuring any muscles, having nothing to subsist upon in all that time but a scanty allowance of biscuit and oil. Seeing their insolence, de Weert called them into the cabin, giving them good words, and even desired their advice as to what was best to be done in this difficult conjuncture. Some were of opinion that they should proceed to Rio de la Plata in the boat, abandoning their ship, and give themselves up to the Spaniards. Others were for going to St Helena in quest of provisions. The pilot, John Outgetz, was for going to Guinea or the Gold Coast of Africa, where he was known, having made five voyages there. None of these opinions pleased de Weert, who told them, that he could not come to any determination without the consent of Captain de Cordes.

In the mean time, the boat being now ready, de Weert went ashore in her on the 1st January, 1600, to get her properly caulked. In the afternoon, having doubled the southerly point, two boats were seen, which belonged to Van Noort, who had put back to the Bay of Knights in search of the Faith. Next day, Van Noort returned back, promising to make search for the Fidelity. De Weert also sent his boat, with his ensign and one of his pilots, on the same search, and gave them a letter for Van Noort, requesting a supply of biscuit sufficient for two months. The boat came back on the 5th with the general's answer, saying, That he was not sure of having enough of buscuit for his own men, neither knew he how long he might be at sea, and therefore could not spare any. This answer afflicted de Weert; and having now no hopes of being again rejoined by de Cordes, he resolved to

to proceed for Penguin Island, to lay in a large store of these birds, and then to follow the fleet of Van Noort, if the wind proved fair. Before sailing, he wrote a letter for de Cordes, which he left buried at the foot of a tree, and nailed a board to the tree, on which was painted, *Look at the bottom of this tree.*

On the 11th January, 1600, de Weert made sail for Penguin Islands, and next day came to anchor under the smaller of these islands, where he immediately landed with thirty-eight men in tolerable health, leaving the pilots and other seamen on board. Leaving three men to keep the boat, the rest fell to killing birds, of which there were a prodigious quantity in the island. In the mean time the wind grew high and the sea very stormy, by which the boat was thrown so high upon the rocks, and so filled with water, that the boat-keepers were unable to get her off, or to heave out the water, and so much tossed by the surges that they expected every minute to have her stove to pieces. In this extremity the seamen were almost in despair. Without the boat it was impossible for them to return on board. They had no carpenters, no tools, and no wood, with which to repair their boat, as there was no wood whatever on the island. They were all wet, as they had waded into the water as high as their shoulders to draw the boat from the rocks, and they were starving with cold. Fortunately, at low water, the boat being aground, they recovered an axe and some tools, with a few nails, which revived their hopes of being able to get back to the ship. But as it was impossible to get the boat drawn ashore before night for repairs, they were obliged to pass the night on shore in the open air, where they made a fire of some broken planks from the boat, and eat some birds half-roasted, without bread, and with so little water that they could not quench their thirst.

As soon as day appeared on the 13th, every one went cheerfully to work, in repairing that side of the boat which was most injured, which was quite refitted before night. Next day the other side was repaired; and having loaded her with 450 penguins, they went aboard on the evening of the 14th, having been three days on shore. While they were catching penguins on the 12th, they found a savage woman, who had hid herself in one of the holes. At the time when Van Noort landed here, there was a band of savages on the island, by whom two of his men were slain; in revenge of which

which Van Noort had destroyed them all but this woman, who was then wounded, and who now shewed her wounds to the seamen. She was tall and well-made; her hair cut quite close to her head, and her face painted, having a kind of cloak on her body, made of the skins of beasts and birds, neatly sewed together, and reaching down to her knees, besides which she had a skin apron; so that the savages on the north side of these straits appear to be more modest in their apparel than those on the south side. By the dead body of one of these savages, who had been slain by Van Noort, it appeared that the men wore their hair very long; besides which his head was ornamented with fine feathers, and he had others round his body. They use bows and arrows, the arrows being very neatly pointed with hard flints. De Weert gave this woman a knife, who informed him by signs, that he would find a greater plenty of birds in the larger island. They left her where she was, though she requested, by signs, to be transported to the continent. They now went to the larger island, in order to get a larger supply of birds.

The old penguins weigh from twelve to sixteen pounds, and the young ones from eight to twelve. They are black on the back, with white bellies, and some have a white ring round their necks, so that they are almost half white half black. Their skin is much like that of a seal, and as thick as the skin of a wild boar. The bill is as long as that of a raven, but not so crooked; the neck short and thick, and the body as long as that of a goose, but not so thick. Instead of wings, they have only two fins or pinions, covered with feathers, which hang down as they walk upright, and by means of which they swim with great strength. They have black feet, like those of a goose, and they walk upright, with their fins or pinions hanging down like the arms of a man, so that when seen at a distance they look like so many pigmies. They seldom come ashore except in the breeding season, and then they nestle together, three or four in one hole, which they dig in the downs as deep as those of rabbits, and the ground is so full of them, that one is liable almost at every step to sink into them up to the knees. They feed entirely on fish, yet their flesh has not that rank fishy taste which is so common in sea-fowl, but is extraordinarily well tasted. *Penguin,* the name of this bird, is not derived from the Latin *pinguedo,* fatness, as the Dutch author of this voyage would have it, and therefore spells the word *pinguin.*

 Neither

Neither is the conjecture of the French editor of this voyage better founded, who supposes they were so called by the English from a Welsh word signifying *white-head;* and from which it has been argued that these savages are descended from a colony of Britons, supposed to have settled in America, about the year 1170, under Madoc, prince of North Wales. The truth is, the name of penguin was given to these birds by the savages.

The ship reached the greater Penguin Island on the 15th January, that island being a league from the small one; and here they found such abundance of these birds, that many ships might have been amply supplied by them instead of one, for they procured above 900 of them in less than two hours. Next day, while busy in salting the penguins, a heavy storm came on from the N.W. by which the ship was driven out of sight of the island, and to so great a distance that de Weert lost hopes of getting back to it again; on which he reduced the men to an allowance of four ounces of biscuit daily. They got back however on the 17th; but, when going to land, a fresh storm came on with such violence, that they resolved to weigh anchor and get out of the straits: but the sea was so rough that they durst not attempt this, lest the capstan should fly round. At last the anchor lost its hold; and to save the ship from being cast away, they had to cut the cable and make sail, being in great sorrow for the loss of their anchor, as they now had one only remaining.

§ 4. *Voyage from the Straits to Holland.*

This sad accident constrained de Weert to quit the straits, which he did on the 21st January, having a S. W. wind, chopping sometimes round to E.N.E. having now spent nine months in those seas, in a dangerous and dismal condition. In the afternoon of that day, having got into the main sea, they allowed their boat to go adrift, being rendered quite unserviceable by the late storms. The 24th in the morning, they found three small islands to windward, not marked in any maps, which they named the *Sebaldine Islands.* These are in lat. 50° 40′ S. sixty leagues from the continent,[1] and contained abundance of penguins; but they could not catch any, having

[1] In vol. VIII. p. 68, note [3], these Sebaldines have been already noticed as the north-westermost of the Falklands.—E.

having no boat. On the 1st February, a seaman was condemned to be hanged, for having stolen a bottle of wine and a bag of rice from the hold; and, when just about to be turned off, he was pardoned at the intercession of the crew, on condition that they should not again beg the life of any one found guilty of stealing provisions. In the evening of the 3d the same person was found drunk, and consequently must have again stolen wine, and was convicted of having stolen both wine and victuals, for which he was now hanged, and his body thrown into the sea.

They passed the line on the 15th March; and their wine being now reduced to one pipe, that was reserved for the use of the sick, and no more was allowed to the crew. The 28th they saw Cape Monte on the coast of Guinea, when the captain was much displeased with the pilots, for having steered a different course from what he had directed. The seamen also were discontented with the captain, who would not land, because he had no boat, and only one anchor: but, being satisfied that he had biscuit enough for four months, at a quarter of a pound daily to each man, and two ounces of rice, he made the ship's head be turned to seawards. In the night of the 1st April, they discovered some fire at a distance, thinking it were a ship; but when day broke, it was known to have been on the shore, towards which they had been insensibly driven by the current. By this time their whole stock of penguins was expended, and they must have been reduced to a very small allowance of biscuit and rice for their whole sustenance, but during five weeks that they steered along the coast of Africa, making very little progress in consequence of calms, they caught abundance of many kinds of fish, both large and small. Being uncertain how long they might remain on the coast, and fearing the want of provisions, de Weert ordered a small boat to be built by the pilot, who had been bred a ship-carpenter. This boat was finished in twelve days; but they had no need of her, for the wind became fair on the 24th April, and they made sail in the direction of the Açores.

The 3d May was held as a day of thanksgiving and prayer; and on the 21st they passed the tropic of Cancer, catching every where such abundance of fish, that, besides supplying their immediate wants, they salted and dried a considerable store. On getting near the Açores, they found no more fish, and had to use those they had dried and salted; and by this food many distempers were produced among them, particularly

larly the scurvy. The men became as it were parched within, and so thirsty that they could not be satisfied with drink; and their bodies were covered all over with red spots, like a leprosy. The 7th, the captain was informed that some of the men had stolen biscuit; but he durst not punish the guilty, as they were the only vigorous and healthy men in the ship, and nothing could be done without them.

The ship got into the English Channel on the 6th July, when the captain landed at Dover to purchase an anchor and cable; but not being able to procure any, he sailed again that night. On the 13th, while off the mouth of the Maese, waiting the tide, and having a pilot on board, the wind came suddenly contrary, and forced him into the channel of Goeree, where a seaman died, being the sixty-ninth who died during the voyage. The thirty-six who remained alive gave thanks to God, who had preserved them through so many dangers, and had vouchsafed to bring them home.

CHAPTER V.

VOYAGE OF GEORGE SPILBERGEN ROUND THE WORLD, IN 1614—1617.[1]

SECTION I.

Narrative of the Voyage, from Holland to the South Sea.

AS the directors of the Dutch East-India Company were still anxious to make trial of the route to India by the Straits of Magellan, they appointed George Spilberg, or Spilbergen, to make this attempt in 1614, as admiral of six ships, the Great Sun, the Full Moon, the Huntsman, and a yacht called the Sea-mew, all belonging to Amsterdam, with the Eolus of Zealand, and the Morning-star belonging to Rotterdam. Spilbergen was a person of established reputation for knowledge and experience, and was allowed to chuse most of his officers. The ships were all equipped in the best possible manner, and were ready a little after Midsummer; but as the admiral was of opinion that they would arrive in the Straits of Magellan at an improper season, if they sailed so early, the directors thought proper to postpone the commencement of the voyage till the month of August.

The fleet sailed accordingly from the Texel on the 8th of August, 1614, with a strong gale at S.E. Without any remarkable accident, except several severe storms, they reached the latitude of Madeira on the 3d October. Proceeding thence by the Canaries, they lost sight of these islands on the 10th, and came in view of Brava and Fogo, two of the Cape de Verd islands, on the 23d. Having happily passed the *Abrolhos*, dangerous shoals running far out to sea, on the 9th December, they discovered the coast of Brazil on the 12th of that

[1] Harris, I. 44. Callender, II. 191.

that month. On the 19th they were off the bay of Rio de Janeiro; and on the morning of the 20th they anchored in the road of *Ilas Grandes,* between two large fine islands covered with trees, in thirteen fathoms water. Next day they anchored at another island, about half a league distant, where they caught good store of fish, besides many crocodiles or alligators, each about the length of a man. They anchored behind another island on the 23d, where they found two small huts, and a heap of human bones on a rock. Here they set up tents on shore for their sick, which were all landed that night, under the protection of three distinct guards of soldiers, lest they might be attacked by the Portuguese, who were at no great distance.

The 28th, the boats were sent for wood and fresh water to a river about two leagues from where the ships lay, and about noon next day brought off as much as they could carry. They went back for a farther supply, and were obliged to remain on shore all night, as their boats got aground with the ebb-tide. On getting to the ships on the 29th, they reported, that they had heard a confused sound of voices, as of many people, in the woods. The 30th, three boats were sent again to the watering-place, with nine or ten soldiers to protect the seamen when on shore. Shortly after, being out of sight of the fleet, several cannon-shot were heard from the Huntsman, which had been stationed to command the watering-place, on which the admiral sent three armed boats to see what was the matter. On coming to the Huntsman, they were told that five canoes, full of well-armed Portuguese and Mestees, had attacked the three boats, and slain all their men. The Dutch armed boats pursued the canoes, of which they soon came in sight; but on following them round a point, saw two stout frigates or armed barks riding at anchor, to which the canoes retired for protection, and the boats had to return to the admiral with the dismal news of the fate of their companions.

A conspiracy was discovered on the 1st January, 1615, of certain persons who proposed to have run away with one of the ships, and for which two men were executed, several others being put in irons, and distributed among the other ships of the fleet. Before leaving this place, orders were given, if any ship lost company of the rest, that her commander was to set up a conspicuous mark in the haven of de Cordes, or some other usual landing place in the straits; and, after waiting a

certain fixed time, was to proceed for the isle of Mocha on the coast of Chili, as the place of rendezvous. Having no fit provisions for the sick, they resolved also to remove from the Islas Grandes to the isle of St Vincent. Here they were delayed by the Portuguese, who appear to have captured some of their men; for, having taken a bark with eighteen Portuguese on the 26th January, the Portuguese of St Vincent refused to give a smaller number of Hollanders in exchange for these, though also offered many fair manuscripts, pictures, plate, and other things belonging to the jesuits, which had been taken in the prize.

They departed from St Vincent in the beginning of February, having first burnt their prize and some buildings on shore, and furnished themselves amply with oranges and pomecitrons. In lat. 52° 6′ S. they were distressed by a severe storm on the 7th March, which continued several days, and separated the ships. On the 21st a mutiny broke out, for which several of the most notoriously guilty were capitally punished. They entered the straits on the 28th, but were forced out again, by adverse winds and currents. They entered again on the 2d of April, and saw a man of gigantic stature climbing a high hill on the southern shore of the straits, called *Terra del Fuego,* or the land of fire. They went ashore on the 7th, when they saw two ostriches, and found a large river of fresh water, beside which grew many shrubs producing sweet black-berries. Being in lat. 54° S. the mountains were all covered with snow, yet they found pleasant woods, in which were many parrots. To one inlet or bay they gave the name of *Pepper haven*, because the bark of a tree found there had a biting taste like pepper.

On the 16th of April they had some friendly intercourse with a party of savages, to whom they gave various trifling articles in exchange for pearls. But on the 1st May, some of the people were surprised by the natives while on shore, and two of them slain. On the 6th of May they got into the South Sea, not without terror, having no anchorage that day, and being in much danger from many shoals and islands at the mouth of the straits, between the northern and sourthern shore.

SECTION

SECTION II.

Transactions in the South Sea, along the Western Coast of America.

THEY were welcomed into the great South Sea by a terrible storm, and were fearful of being cast away on certain islands a little without the straits, which, from their likeness to the islands of Scilly, they named the *Sorlings*. On the 21st they had sight of the coast of Chili and the isle of Mocha. This island is low and broad on the north, and is full of rocks on the south. The 26th endeavours were made to enter into traffic with the natives of this island. The chief and his son dined on board the admiral, seemingly rejoiced to see such large and well-armed ships sent against the Spaniards, and all the native Chilese were delighted to see the soldiers mustered and exercised. The Dutch here procured great plenty of sheep, in exchange for hatchets and ornaments of coral and such like toys, getting two sheep for one hatchet. But the natives brought every thing to the boats, and would not suffer any of the Dutch to go near their houses, being very jealous of their wives, even more so than Spaniards. These sheep resembled camels, having long legs and necks, hare lips, hunches on their backs, and are used as beasts of draught and burden.

They left Mocha on the 27th of May, and next day came to the coast not far from the island of St Mary, where the land was much broken and very rocky. The 29th they cast anchor at the island of St Mary, whence a Spaniard came on board, having a pledge left for him ashore. This man invited the admiral and others to dine on shore; but one of the boats observed a body of soldiers marching to the place at which they were to have dined; on which appearance of treachery, the Spanish messenger was made prisoner. The Dutch landed next day in force, on which the Spaniards set their church on fire and fled; having four of their men slain, while two of the Dutch were wounded. They here found much poultry, and took 500 sheep, with other spoil. Learning at this place of three Spanish ships fitted out in April expressly against them, the admiral of which carried forty brass guns, and the whole manned by 1000 Spaniards, Spilbergen

bergen resolved to go in search of them at Conception and Valparaiso, and afterwards on the coast of Arica. A farther squadron, of similar force, was also said to be in preparation at *Calao de Lima.* In consequence of this intelligence, the Dutch gunners were ordered to have every thing in readiness for battle, rules of military discipline were established, and each ship and every person received distinct orders for conducting the expected battle, in which it was resolved to conquer or die.

Sailing from the island of St Mary on the 1st June, 1615, they passed not far from the town of *Auroca,*[1] where the Spaniards kept a garrison of 500 men, which were continually disquieted by the unconquered natives of Chili. On the 3d they came to the island of *Quinquirina,* within which is the town of Conception, inhabited by many Indians and about 200 Spaniards. The 12th they entered the safe and commodious road of Valparaiso, in which was a Spanish ship, but which was set on fire by its own mariners, who escaped on shore. The 13th at noon, they were in lat. 32° 15′ S.[2] and in the afternoon came into the fair and secure harbour of Quintero. Here they took in wood and water, and caught abundance of fish. But they found the inhabitants every where aware of them, and prepared to receive them, so that nothing of any importance could be effected. They came next to *Arica* in lat. 12° 40′ S.[3] to which place the silver is brought from the mines of Potosi, whence it is shipped for Panama. Finding no ships there, they proceeded along the coast, and took a small ship on the 16th, in which was some treasure, but it was mostly embezzled by the sailors.

They soon after had sight of eight ships, which the master of the prize said were the royal fleet sent out in search of the Hollanders, contrary to the opinion of the council of Peru; but Don Rodrigo de Mendoza, the Spanish admiral, a kinsman to the viceroy, insisted on putting to sea, alleging that two even of his ships could take all England, and much more those *hens* of Holland, who must be spent and wasted by so long a voyage, and would assuredly yield at first sight. On this, the viceroy gave him leave to depart, with orders to bring

[1] Arauco, a fortress on the northern frontier of the independent country of Araucania, but somewhat inland, not far to the N.E. of the island of St Mary.—E.

[2] Quintero is in lat. 32° 44′ S.

[3] This is a great error, as Arica is in lat 18° 28′ S.

bring all the Hollanders in chains. Mendoza then swore that he would never return till the Hollanders were all taken or slain, and set sail from Calao, the haven of Lima, on the 11th July. The flag ship was the Jesu Maria, of twenty-four brass guns and 460 men, which was said to have cost the king 158,000 ducats. The vice-admiral was the Santa Anna, of 300 men, commanded by Captain Alvarez de Piger, who had before taken an English ship in the South Sea, and this ship cost 150,000 ducats, being the handsomest that had ever been seen in Peru. The other ships were the Carmelite and St Jago of eight brass cannon and 200 men each; the Rosary of four guns and 150 men; the St Francis having seventy musketeers, and twenty sailors, but no ordnance; the St Andrew of eighty musketeers, twenty-five sailors, and no cannon; and an eighth, the name and strength of which is not mentioned.

The adverse fleets drew near on the evening of the 17th July, when the Spanish vice-admiral sent a message to his admiral, advising to postpone battle till next morning. Mendoza was, however, too impatient to follow this advice, and set upon the Great Sun, in which was Admiral Spilbergen, about ten that night, when they exchanged broadsides. The St Francis being next to the Jesu Maria, attacked the Dutch admiral; but being beaten off, fell upon the yacht, and by her was sent to the bottom. At this instant, the yacht was attacked by the Spanish admiral, and had soon shared the fate of her former antagonist, but was succoured by two boats full of men, one from the Dutch admiral, and the other from the vice-admiral; on this occasion, the Dutch admiral's boat was unfortunately mistaken by the Huntsman, and sent to the bottom by a cannon-shot, and all her men drowned except one.

Next morning, five of the Spanish ships sent word to their admiral that they meant to do their best to escape: But the Dutch admiral and vice-admiral set upon the Spanish admiral and vice-admiral, and an obstinate engagement ensued, in which the Eolus, another of the Dutch ships, also partook. The two Spanish ships were lashed together, for mutual support. At length, all the men forsook the vice-admiral, going on board the admiral's ship, in which they afterwards confessed they found only fifty men alive. Being reduced to great distress, the Spanish seamen several times hung out a white flag, in token of surrender, which was as often hauled down

down by the officers and other gentlemen, who chose rather to die than yield.

After some time, being sore pressed by the Hollanders, the men belonging to the Spanish vice-admiral returned to their own ship, and renewed the fight; on which occasion the Dutch vice-admiral was in imminent danger of being taken, as the Spaniards boarded her, but were all repelled or slain. Being no longer able to continue the fight, the Spanish admiral fled under cover of the night, and escaped the pursuit of Spilbergen; but her leaks were so many and great that she went to the bottom, as did likewise another of the Spanish ships called the Santa Maria.[4] The Dutch vice-admiral and the Eolus bestirred themselves so briskly, that the Spanish vice-admiral hung out a white flag, on which the Dutch vice-admiral sent two boats to bring the Spanish commander on board, but he refused going that night, unless the Dutch vice-admiral came to fetch him, or sent a captain to remain in pledge for him. At this time ten or twelve of the men belonging to the Eolus remained on board, contrary to orders, wishing to have a first hand in the plunder. These men assisted the Spaniards in their efforts to prevent the ship from sinking: But all their labour being in vain, they shewed many lights, and cried out aloud for help, which was too late of being sent, and they went to the bottom. Next morning the Dutch sent out four boats, which found thirty Spaniards floating on pieces of the wreck, and crying out for mercy; which was shewn by the Dutch to some of the chiefs, but the rest were left to the mercy of the sea, several of them being even knocked on the head by the Dutch, contrary to orders from their officers. Before this ship went down her commander expired of his wounds. In this engagement forty Dutchmen were wounded and sixteen slain, on board the admiral, vice-admiral, and Eolus; and in the rest eighteen were wounded and four slain.

The Dutch now made sail for Calao de Lima, but were becalmed. The 20th they passed by the island [St Lorenzo], and saw fourteen ships in the haven, but could not get near for shoals. They went, therefore, to the road of Calao in search of the Spanish admiral, but learned afterwards at Payta that his ship had sunk. The Spaniards fired upon them

[4] There is no such name in the list of the Spanish fleet, so that we may suppose this to have been the one formerly mentioned without a name. —E.

them from the shore, and a ball of thirty-six pounds weight had nearly sunk the Huntsman. They saw also on shore a considerable army, commanded by the viceroy in person, consisting of eight troops of horse and 4000 foot. Going beyond reach of shot from the shore, the Dutch cast anchor off the mouth of the haven, where they remained till the 25th of July, expecting to capture some Spanish ships, but all that appeared made their escape by superior sailing, except one bark laden with salt and eighty jars of molasses.

In regard that they were now on an enemy's coast, where they had no opportunity of repairing their losses, orders were issued by Spilbergen to act with great caution, in case of falling in with the fleet of Panama, and especially to take care not to separate from each other, which had much endangered them in the late fight. It was also ordered, if any Spanish ship should yield, that the Dutch captains and chief officers should on no account leave their own ships, but should order the enemy to come aboard them in their own boats. They sailed from Calao on the 27th of July, and came to the road of *Huarmey* in lat. 10° S. on the 28th. This is a pleasant place, with a large port, near which is a lake. The Dutch landed here, but the inhabitants fled, leaving little plunder, except poultry, hogs, oranges, and meal, which they brought on board. They dismissed some of their Spanish prisoners on the 3d August, on which day they passed between the main and the island of *Lobos*, so called from being frequented by seals, or sea wolves.[5] The 8th they cast anchor near Payta, in about the latitude of 5° S. The 9th they landed 300 men, but re-embarked after some skirmishing, as they found the city too strongly defended. On this occasion they took a Peruvian bark, strangely rigged, having six stout natives on board, who had been out fishing for two months, and had a cargo of excellent dried fish, which was distributed through the fleet.

The 10th of August three of the Dutch ships battered the town of Payta, and afterwards sent a party of armed men on shore, who found the inhabitants had fled to the mountains with

[5] There are three islands or groups of that name off the coast of Peru. The southern Lobos is in lat. 7° S. near fifty miles from the nearest land; the middle, or inner Lobos, in lat. 6° 22′ S. is only about nine miles from the coast of Peru; and the northern Lobos is in lat. 5° 8′ S. almost close to the shore. It is probably the middle or inner Lobos that is meant in the text.—E.

with all their valuables. The Dutch sent five of the Peruvian captives on shore to endeavour to procure fruit, and to learn with more certainty what had become of the Spanish admiral. On their return they brought word that the Spanish admiral had gone to the bottom, six only of her crew escaping. They brought letters also from the lady of Don Gasper Calderon, the commandant of Payta, who had fled to the town of St Michael, thirty miles from Payta; who, in commiseration of the captives, sent many citrons and other provisions to the Dutch ships. Towards the sea the town of Payta is strongly fortified, and almost impregnable. It is a place of some importance, having two churches, a monastery, and many good buildings; and has an excellent harbour, to which many ships resort from Panama, whence their cargoes are transmitted by land to Lima, to avoid the dangers of the wind and the seas at that place. While at the island of Lobos, the Dutch took two birds of enormous size, not unlike an eagle in beak, wings, and talons; their necks being covered with down resembling wool, and their heads having combs like those of a cock. They were two ells in height, and their wings, when displayed, measured three ells in breadth.[6]

The Dutch set sail from Payta on the 21st of August, and anchored on the 23d in the road off the mouth of the Rio Tumbez, in lat. 3° 20′ S. They here agreed to return to the isle of Coques, in lat. 5° S.[7] that they might endeavour to procure refreshments. But they were so distressed by storms of wind, with rain and excessive thunder, that they in vain endeavoured to get to that island till the 13th September, and in the mean time became very sickly. Proceeding therefore towards the north they came in sight of New Spain on the 20th September, in lat. 13° 30′ N. when the weather became again very tempestuous. After much bad weather they came in sight of a pleasant land on the 1st October, but were unable to land. Beating off and on till the 11th of that

[6] Probably the Condour, or Vultur Gryphus of naturalists, which is of vast size, sometimes measuring sixteen feet between the tips of the wings when extended.

At this place we have omitted a vague rambling account of the kingdoms of Peru and Chili, as in 1616, which could have conveyed no useful information, farther than that Don Juan de Mendoza, Marquis des Montes Claros, was then viceroy of Peru.—E.

[7] This is probably the northern Lobos, in lat. 5° 8′ S. formerly mentioned in a note.—E.

that month, they then entered the harbour of Accapulco, within shot of the castle, and hung out a flag of truce. Two Spaniards came on board, with whom they agreed to exchange their prisoners for sheep, fruits, and other provisions, which was accordingly performed. On the 15th Melchior Hernando, nephew to the viceroy of New Spain, came on board, to take a view of the fleet which had vanquished that of his king, and was kindly entertained by the Dutch admiral. The castle of Accapulco was found to be well fortified, and had seventy pieces of brass cannon mounted on its ramparts; and the Dutch were here informed that their intended arrival had been known eight months before.

They set sail from Accapulco on the 18th of October, and soon afterwards took a bark bound for the pearl fishery, which they manned and took into their service as a tender. On the 1st November they anchored before the port of *Selagua*, in lat. 19° 8′ N. At this place they were informed of a river abounding in a variety of excellent fish, and having extensive meadows on its banks well stocked with cattle, together with citrons and other fruits in great plenty, all of which they much wanted; but the company they sent to endeavour to procure these conveniences returned empty handed, after a smart engagement with the Spaniards. They sailed thence on the 11th November for the port of Nativity, in lat. 20° 40′ N. where they furnished themselves with necessaries, and from whence they set sail on the 20th.

Section III.

Voyage Home from America, by the East Indies and Cape of Good Hope.

The 26th November, 1615, being in lat. 20° 26′ N. they determined on shaping their course for the Ladrones across the great Pacific Ocean. On the 3d December, to their great astonishment, they saw two islands at a great distance, and next day a vast rock in lat. 19° N. fifty leagues from the continent of America.[1] The 5th they saw another new island, having five hills, that at first appeared like so many distinct

[1] The three Marias are nearly in the indicated latitude, but are only about thirty leagues from the western coast of N. America.—E.

distinct islands. The new year 1616 was ushered in with distempers that proved fatal to many of the sailors. On the 3d of January they came in sight of the Ladrones, where they landed and procured refreshments. Setting sail from thence on the 26th January, they arrived at the Philippine islands on the 9th February, but the Indians refused to trade with them, because enemies of the Spaniards, though some among them, for that very reason, would willingly have transferred all the trade and riches of the country to them. In *Capul*, where they arrived on the 11th, the people gave them fat hogs and poultry in exchange for mere trifles. Having thus procured abundant refreshments, they set sail on the 16th, passing through the straits towards the bay of Manilla.

They anchored in these straits on the 19th, where they saw a curious fabric erected on the top of trees, looking at a distance like a palace, but they could not imagine what it was. The 24th they passed the high and flaming hill of *Albaca*, and came in sight of the other end of the straits [of St Bernardino] on the 28th, when they anchored before the island of *Mirabelles*, remarkable for two rocks which tower to a vast height in the air. Behind this island is the city of Manilla, and here the pilots wait for the ships from China, to pilot them safe to the city, as the passage is very dangerous. On the 5th of March they took several barks, which were going to collect the tribute paid by the adjacent places to the city of Manilla. They had now intelligence of a fleet of twelve ships and four gallies, manned by 2000 Spaniards besides Indians, Chinese, and Japanese, sent from Manilla to drive the Dutch from the Moluccas, and to reduce these islands under the dominion of Spain. On this news they discharged all their prisoners, and resolved to go in pursuit of the Manilla fleet.

The 11th March they got into a labyrinth of islands, whence they knew not how to get out, but their Spanish pilot carried them safe through next day. The 14th they anchored all night before the island of *Paney*, by reason of the shoals; and on the 18th they sailed close past the island of Mindanao. The 19th they came again close to the shore, and brought provisions from the islanders at a cheap rate. They reached Cape *Cudera* on the 20th, where the Spaniards usually water on their voyages to the Moluccas. Till the 23d, having a perfect calm, they made no progress except with the tide; and when between *Mindanao* and *Tagano* they

they were stopt by an adverse current. The people here professed great enmity against the Spaniards, and offered to assist the Dutch with fifty of their vessels against that nation. The 27th they passed the island of *Sanguin*, and came on the 29th to Ternate, in which island the Dutch possessed the town of *Macia*, where they were made most welcome by their countrymen. They observed that the straits of *Booton* was full of shoals, without which the water was deep. On the east there is good fresh water, and two leagues to the west lies a very rocky shoal. On the 8th of April, Cornelius de Vicaneze went for Banda, where the soldiers were landed, after being long on board ship.

Being detained in the Moluccas and at Bantam in the service of the Dutch East India Company till the 14th December, 1616, admiral Spilbergen then sailed from Bantam for Holland, in the Amsterdam of 1400 tons, having also under his command the Zealand of 1200 tons, leaving the ships with which he had hitherto sailed in India. On the 1st January, 1617, the Zealand parted company, and on the 24th of that month the Amsterdam anchored at the island of Mauritius. They doubled the Cape of Good Hope on the 6th March, and arrived at St Helena on 30th of that month, where they found the Zealand. Leaving that island on the 6th April, they passed the line on the 24th of that month, and arrived safe in Holland on the 1st July, 1617, having been absent two years, ten months, and twenty-four days; nearly nine months of which time were spent in India, without prosecuting the direct purpose of their circumnavigation.

The directors of the Dutch East India company bestowed the highest commendations on Spilbergen for his prudence and good conduct in this voyage, which contributed both to the advantage of the company, his own reputation, and the glory of his country. The Dutch company may be said to have dated their grandeur from the day of his return, both in respect to reputation, power, and riches; the former resulting from his successful circumnavigation of the globe, and the others from their conquests in the Moluccas, in which he not only assisted, but likewise brought home the first intelligence. On his return to Holland, Spilbergen confirmed the report of Magellan respecting a gigantic people inhabiting the straits, named *Patagons*. He said that he had gone several times on shore, and had examined several graves of the natives, and saw several savages at different times

times in their canoes, all of whom were of the ordinary size, or rather under. But one day he observed a man on shore, who first climbed one hill and then another, to look at the ships, and at last came to the sea-side for that purpose, and this man was allowed by all who saw him to be even taller than those spoken of by Magellan. This is likewise confirmed by the accounts given to Van Noort and De Weert, by a boy they took from the savages; who said there were only two tribes of these giants, all the other savages being of the ordinary size.[2]

[2] Without pretending to give any opinion on this subject, it may be remarked, that the account from the savage boy is worthy of little credit, as a kind of nursery tale, and given by one who certainly could hardly have sufficient language to express himself. The solitary giant seen looking at the ships from a distance, may have been of the ordinary size, magnified to the eye in looking through a hazy atmosphere.—E.

CHAPTER VI.

VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD, IN 1615-1617, BY WILLIAM CORNELISON SCHOUTEN AND JACQUES LE MAIRE, GOING ROUND CAPE HORN.[1]

INTRODUCTION.

THE States General of the United Provinces having granted an exclusive privilege to the Dutch East India Company, prohibiting all their subjects, except that company, from trading to the eastwards beyond the Cape of Good Hope, or westwards through the Straits of Magellan, in any of the countries within these limits, whether known or unknown, and under very heavy penalties; this prohibition gave great dissatisfaction to many rich merchants, who were desirous of fitting out ships and making discoveries at their own cost, and thought it hard that their government should thus, contrary to the laws of Nature, shut up those passages which Providence had left free. Among the number of these discontented merchants was one Isaac Le Maire, a rich merchant of Amsterdam, then residing at Egmont, who was well acquainted with business, and had an earnest desire to employ a portion of the wealth he had acquired in trade in acquiring fame as a discoverer. With this view he applied to William Cornelison Schouten of Horn, a man in easy circumstances, deservedly famous for his great skill in maritime affairs, and his extensive knowledge of trade in the Indies, having

[1] Harris, I. 51. Callender, II. 217.

It is proper to remark, that in this and several of the subsequent circumnavigations, considerable freedom has been taken in abbreviating numerous trivial circumstances already noticed by former voyagers: But whereever the navigators treat on new topics of discovery, or other subjects of any importance, the narratives are given at full length. Had not this liberty of lopping redundancies been taken, this division of our collection must have extended to a very inconvenient length, without any corresponding advantage.—E.

having been thrice there in the different characters of supercargo, pilot, and master.

The main question proposed to him by Le Maire was, Whether he thought it possible to find a passage into the South Sea, otherwise than by the Straits of Magellan; and if so, whether it were not likely that the countries to the south of that passage might afford as rich commodities as either the East or the West Indies? Schouten was of opinion that such a passage might be found, and gave several reasons as to the probable riches of these countries.[2] After many conferences, they came to the determination of attempting this discovery, under a persuasion that the States did not intend, by their exclusive charter to the East India Company, to preclude their subjects from discovering countries in the south by a new route, different from either of those described in the charter.

In consequence of this determination, it was agreed that Le Maire should advance half of the necessary funds for the expence of the proposed voyage, while Schouten and his friends were to advance the other moiety. Accordingly Le Maire advanced his part of the funds; and Schouten, with the assistance of Peter Clementson, burgomaster of Horn, Jan Janson Molenwert, one of the schepens or aldermen of that city, Jan Clementson Keis, a senator of that city, and Cornelius Segetson, a merchant, produced the rest. These matters being adjusted, in spring 1615, the company proposed to equip two vessels, a larger and a less, to sail from Horn at the proper season. That all parties might be satisfied, it was agreed that William Cornelison Schouten, in consideration of his age and experience, should command the larger ship, with the entire direction of the navigation during the voyage; and that Jaques le Maire, the eldest son of Isaac, should be supercargo. Every thing was got ready in two months for the prosecution of the enterprise, and a sufficient number of men engaged as mariners: but, as secrecy was indispensable, they were articled to go wherever the masters and supercargoes should require; and, in consideration

[2] The idea of rich countries is here surely wrong stated, as none such could possibly be conceived to the south of the Straits of Magellan. The expected rich countries must have been to the westwards of these straits, and in the tropical regions far to the north, in the hope of not trenching upon the exclusive trade to the East Indies.—E.

sideration of such unusual conditions, their wages were considerably advanced beyond the ordinary terms.

SECTION I.

Journal of the Voyage from the Texel to Cape Horn.

THE larger of the two vessels prepared for this voyage was the Unity, of 360 tons, carrying nineteen cannon and twelve swivels; having on board two pinnaces, one for sailing and another for rowing, a launch for landing men, and a small boat, with all other necessaries for so long a voyage. Of this vessel William Cornelison Schouten was master and pilot, and Jaques le Maire supercargo. The lesser vessel was named the Horn, of 110 tons, carrying eight cannons and four swivels, of which Jan Cornelison Schouten was master, and Aris Clawson supercargo. The crew of the Unity consisted of sixty-five men, and that of the Horn of twenty-two only. The Unity sailed on the 25th of May for the Texel, where the Horn also arrived on the 3d June.

The proper season being now arrived, in their judgment, they sailed from the Texel on the 14th of June, and anchored in the Downs on the 17th, when William Schouten went ashore at Dover to hire an experienced English gunner. This being effected, they again set sail the same evening; and meeting a severe storm in the night between the 21st and 22d, they took shelter under the Isle of Wight. Sailing thence on the 25th, they arrived at Plymouth on the 27th, where they hired a carpenter named Muydenblick. Sailing finally from Plymouth on the 28th June, with the wind at N.E. and fair weather, they proceeded on their voyage.

Distinct rules were now established in regard to the allowance of provisions at sea, so that the men might have no reason to complain, and the officers might be satisfied of having enough for the voyage. The rate fixed upon was, a cann of beer for each man daily; four pounds of biscuit, with half a pound of butter and half a pound of suet weekly; and five large Dutch cheeses for each man, to serve during the whole voyage. All this was besides the ordinary allowance of salt meat and stock-fish. Due orders were likewise issued for regulating the conduct of the men and officers. Particularly on

on all occasions of landing men in a warlike posture, one of the masters was always to command: and in such ports as they might touch at for trade, the supercargo was to go on shore, and to have the exclusive management of all commercial dealings. It was also enjoined, that every officer should be exceedingly strict in the execution of his duty, but without subjecting the men to any unnecessary hardships, or interfering with each other in their several departments. The officers were also warned against holding any conversation with the men, in regard to the objects of the voyage, all conjectures respecting which were declared fruitless, the secret being solely known to the first captain and supercargo. It was also declared, that every embezzlement of stores, merchandises, or provisions, should be severely punished; and, in case of being reduced upon short allowance, any such offence was to be punished with death. The two supercargoes were appointed to keep distinct journals of all proceedings, for the information of the company of adventurers, that it might appear how far every man had done his duty, and in what manner the purposes of the voyage had been answered.

On the 11th July they had sight of Madeira, and on the 13th they passed through between Teneriff and Grand Canary, with a stiff breeze at N.N.E. and a swift current. The 15th they passed the tropic of Cancer; and the 20th in the morning fell in with the north side of Cape de Verd. Procuring here a supply of water, by leave of the Moorish alcaide or governor, for which they had to pay *eight states* of iron, they left the cape on the 1st August, and came in sight of the high land of Sierra Leona on the 21st of that month, as also of the island of *Madre bomba*, which lies off the south point of Sierra Leona, and north from the shallows of the island of St Ann. This land of Sierra Leona is the highest of all that lie between Cape Verd and the coast of Guinea, and is therefore easily known.

On the 30th of August, they cast anchor in eight fathoms water on a fine sandy bottom, near the shore, and opposite a village or town of the negroes, in the road of Sierra Leona. This village consisted only of eight or nine poor thatched huts. The Moorish inhabitants were willing to come on board to trade, only demanding a pledge to be left on shore for their security, because a French ship had recently carried off two of the natives perfidiously. Aris Clawson, the junior merchant

chant or supercargo, went accordingly on shore, where he drove a small trade for lemons and bananas, in exchange for glass beads. In the mean time some of the natives came off to the ships, bringing with them an interpreter who spoke many languages. They here very conveniently furnished themselves with fresh water, which poured down in great abundance from a very high hill, so that they had only to place their casks under the waterfall. There were here whole woods of lemon-trees, and lemons were so cheap that they might have had a thousand for a few beads, and ten thousand for a few common knives; so that they easily procured as many as they wished, and each man had 150 for sea store. The 3d September they found a vast shoal of fish, resembling a shoemaker's knife.

They left Sierra Leona on the 4th September; and on the 5th October, being in lat 4° 27′ S. they were astonished by receiving a violent stroke on the bottom of one of the ships, though no rock appeared to be in the way. While forming conjectures on the occasion of this shock, the sea all about the ship began to change colour, appearing as if some great fountain of blood had opened into it. This sudden alteration of the water seemed not less wonderful than the striking of the ship; but the cause of both was not discovered till after their arrival in Port Desire, when the ship was laid on shore to clean her bottom, when they found a large horn, of a substance resembling ivory, sticking fast in the bottom. It was entirely firm and solid, without any internal cavity, and had pierced through three very stout planks, grazing one of the ribs of the ship, and stuck at least a foot deep in the wood, leaving about as much on the outside, up to the place where it broke off.[1]

On the 25th of October, when no person knew whereabouts they were except Schouten, the company was informed that the design of the voyage was to endeavour to discover a new southern passage into the South Sea; and the people appeared well pleased, expecting to discover some new golden country to make amends for all their trouble and danger. The 26th they were in lat. 6° 25′ S. and continued their course mostly to the south all the rest of that month, till they were

[1] This must have been a Narval, or Narwhal, the Monodon Monoceros, Licorne, or Unicornu Marinum, of naturalists, called likewise the Unicorn Fish, or Sea Unicorn.—E.

were in lat. 10° 30′ S. The 1st September they had the sun at noon to the north; and in the afternoon of the 3d they had sight of the isle of Ascension, in 20° S. otherwise called the island of Martin Vaz, where the compass was observed to vary 12° to the east of north. The 21st, in lat. 38° S. the compass varied 17° in the same eastern direction. The 6th December, they got sight of the mainland of South America, appearing rather flat, and of a white colour, and quickly after fell in with the north head-land of Port Desire, anchoring that night in ten fathoms water with the ebb-tide, within a league and a half of the shore. Next day, resuming their course southwards, they came into Port Desire at noon, in lat. 47° 40′ S. They had very deep water at the entrance, where they did not observe any of the cliffs which were described by Van Noort, as left by him to the northward on sailing into this haven, all the cliffs they saw being on the south side of the entrance, which therefore might be those mentioned by Van Noort, and misplaced in his narrative by mistake.

In consequence of this error, they overpassed Port Desire to the south, so as to miss the right channel, and came into a crooked channel, where they had four and a half fathoms water at full sea, and only fourteen feet at low water. By this means the Unity got fast aground by the stern, and had infallibly been lost, if a brisk gale had blown from the N.E. But as the wind blew west from the land, she got off again without damage. Here they found vast quantities of eggs upon the cliffs; and the bay afforded them great abundance of muscles, and smelts sixteen inches long, for which reason they called it *Smelt Bay*. From this place they sent a pinnace to the Penguin Islands, which brought back 150 of these birds, and two sea lions.

Leaving Smelt Bay on the 8th December, they made sail for Port Desire, a boat going before to sound the depth of the channel, which was twelve and thirteen fathoms, so that they sailed in boldly, having a fair wind at N.E. After going in little more than a league, the wind began to veer about, and they cast anchor in twenty fathoms; but the ground, consisting entirely of slippery stones, and the wind now blowing strong at N. W. they drifted to the south shore, where both ships had nearly been wrecked. The Unity lay with her side to the cliffs, yet still kept afloat, and gradually slid down towards the deep water as the tide fell. But the Horn stuck

stuck fast aground, so that at last her keel was above a fathom out of the water, and a man might have walked under it at low water. For some time, the N. W. wind blowing hard on one side, kept her from falling over; but, that dying away, she at length fell over on her bends, when she was given over for lost; but next flood, coming on with calm weather, righted her again. Having escaped this imminent danger, both ships went farther up the river on the 9th, and came to King's Island, which they found full of black sea-mews, and almost entirely covered with their eggs; so that a man without moving from one spot might reach fifty or sixty nests with his hands, having three or four eggs in each. They here accordingly were amply provided with eggs, and laid in several thousands of them for sea store.

The 11th the boats were sent down the river in search of fresh water, on the south side, but found it all brackish and unpleasant. They saw ostriches here, and a sort of beasts like harts, having wonderfully long necks, and extremely wild. Upon the high hills, they found great heaps of stones, under which some monstrous carcass had been buried, some of the bones being ten or eleven feet long, which, if having belonged to rational creatures, must have been the bones of giants.[2] They here had plenty of good fish and fowls, but no water could be found for some days.

On the 17th December, the Unity was laid ashore on King's island, in order to clean her bottom, and next day the Horn was hauled on shore for the same purpose, but providentially at the distance of about 200 yards from her consort: For, on the 19th, while burning a fire of dry reeds under the Horn, which was necessary for the object in view, the flame caught hold of the ship, and they were forced to see her burn without being able to do any thing to extinguish the fire, as they were at least fifty feet from the water side. They launched the Unity at high water on the 20th, and next day carried on board all the iron-work, anchors, cannon, and whatever else they had been able to save belonging to the Horn.

On the 25th some holes full of fresh water were found, which was white and muddy, yet well tasted, and of which a great quantity was carried on board, in small casks on the men's

[2] Giants indeed; for thigh bones of ten or eleven feet long, and these are the longest in the human body, would argue men of *thirty-one feet high!*—E.

men's shoulders. At this place, they found great numbers of sea lions, the young of which are good to eat. This creature is nearly as big as a small horse, their heads resembling lions, and the males having long manes on their necks of tough coarse hair; but the females have no manes, and are only half as large as the males. They are a bold and fierce animal, and only to be destroyed by musket shot.

January 13th, 1616, they departed from Port Desire; and on the 18th, being in lat. 51° S. they saw the Sebaldine [or Faulkland] islands, as laid down by de Weert. The 20th, being in lat. 53° S. and by estimation twenty leagues to the South of the Straits of Magellan, they observed a strong current running to the S.W. The 23d the wind was uncertain and shifting, and the water had a white appearance, as if they had been within the land; and holding on their course, S. by W. they saw land that same day, bearing from them W. and W.S.W. and quickly afterwards saw other land to the south. Then attempting, by an E.S.E. course, to get beyond the land, they were constrained to take in their topsails, by the wind blowing hard at north. In the forenoon of the 24th they saw land to starboard, at the distance of a league, stretching out to the east and south, having very high hills all covered with snow. They then saw other land bearing east from the former, which likewise was high and rugged. According to estimation, these two lands lay about eight leagues asunder, and they guessed there might be a good passage between them, because of a brisk current which ran to the southward in the direction of that opening. At noon they made their latitude 54° 46',[3] and stood towards the before-mentioned opening, but were delayed by a calm. At this place they saw a prodigious multitude of penguins, and such numbers of whales that they had to proceed with much caution, being afraid they might injure their ship by running against them.

In the forenoon of the 25th they got close in with the eastern land, and upon its north side, which stretched E.S.E. as far as the eye could carry. This they named *States Land*, and to that which lay westward of the opening they gave the name

[3] They were here obviously approaching the Straits of Le Maire, discovered on the present occasion, the northern opening of which is in lat. 54° 40' S. the southern in 55° S. and the longitude 65° 15' W. from Greenwich.—E.

name of *Maurice Land.*[4] The land on both sides seemed entirely bare of trees and shrubs, but had abundance of good roads and sandy bays, with great store of fish, porpoises, penguins and other birds. Having a north wind at their entrance into this passage, they directed their course S.S.W. and going at a brisk rate, they were at noon in lat. 55° 36′ S. and then held a S.W. course with a brisk gale. The land on the south side of the passage or Straits of *Le Maire*, and west side, to which they gave the name of *Maurice Land*, [being the east side of the Terra del Fuego] appeared to run W.S.W. and S.W. as far as they could see, and was all a very rugged, uneven, and rocky coast. In the evening, having the wind at S.W. they steered S. meeting with prodigious large waves, rolling along before the wind; and, from the depth of the water to leeward, which appeared by very evident signs, they were fully convinced that they had the great South Sea open before them, into which they had now almost made their way by a new passage of their own discovering.

At this place the *sea-mews* were larger than swans, their wings when extended measuring six feet from tip to tip. These often alighted on the ship, and were so tame as to allow themselves to be taken by hand, without even attempting to escape. The 26th at noon they made their latitude 57° S. where they were assailed by a brisk storm at W.S.W. the sea running very high, and of a blue colour. They still held their course to the southwards, but changed at night to the N.W. in which direction they saw very high land. At noon of the 27th they were in 56° 51′ S. the weather being very cold, with hail and rain, and the wind at W. and W. by S. The 28th they had great billows rolling from the west, and were at noon in 56° 48′ S. The 29th having the wind at N.E. they steered S.W. and came in sight of two islands W.S.W. of their course, beset all round with cliffs. They got to these islands at noon, giving the name of *Barnevelt's Islands*, and found their latitude to be 57° S.[5] "Being unable to sail *above* them, they held their course to the north; and

[4] The former of these names is still retained, but not the latter; the land on the west of the Straits of Le Maire being Terra del Fuego; and the cape at the N.W. of the straits mouths is now called Cape St Vincent, while the S.W. point is named Cape St Diego.—E.

[5] Only 56°, so that by some inaccuracy of instruments or calculation, the observations of the latitude, in this voyage, seem all considerably too high.—E.

and taking a N.W. course in the evening from Barnevelt's islands, they saw land N.W. and N.N.W. from them, being the lofty mountainous land covered with snow, which lies to the south of the straits of Magellan, [called Terra del Fuego,] and which ends in a sharp point, to which they gave the name of *Cape Horn*, which is in lat. 57° 48′ S."[6]

They now held their course westwards, being assisted by a strong current in that direction; yet had the wind from the north, and had heavy billows meeting them from the west. The 30th, the current and billows as before, they were fully assured of having the way open into the South Sea, and this day at noon they made their latitude 57° 34′ S. The 31st sailing west, with the wind at north, their latitude at noon was 58° S. But the wind changing to W. and W.S.W. they passed Cape Horn, losing sight of land altogether, still meeting huge billows rolling from the west with a blue sea, which made them believe they were in the main South Sea. February 1st, they had a storm at S.W. and sailed N.W. and W.N.W. The 2d, having the wind at W. they sailed southwards, and came into the lat. of 57° 58′ S. The 3d they made their latitude 59° 25′ S. with a strong wind at W. but saw no signs of any land to the South.

SECTION II.

Continuation of the Voyage, from Cape Horn to the Island of Java.

ALTERING their course to the northwards, they plainly discerned the western mouth of the Straits of Magellan, bearing east from them, on the 12th February; and being now quite sure of their new and happy discovery, they returned thanks to the Almighty for their good fortune over a cup of wine, which was handed three times round the company. To this new-found passage or straits, leading from the Atlantic into the

[6] The course in the text within inverted commas, from Barnevelt's islands to Cape Horn, is evidently erroneously stated. It ought to have run thus. "Being unable to pass to the north of these islands, they held their course S.W. seeing land on the N.W. and N.N.W. of their course, which ended in a sharp point, which they named *Cape Horn*."—Cape Horn is in lat. 56° 15′ S. and long. 67° 45′ W. from Greenwich.—E.

the Pacific, they gave the name of the *Straits of Le Maire*, though that honour ought justly to have been given to *Schouten*, by whose excellent conduct these straits were discovered.

By the 27th of February they were in lat. 40° S. with fair weather, continuing their course to the north; but on the 28th, they determined to sail for the island of Juan Fernandez, to give some rest and refreshment to their sickly and wearied company. That day their latitude at noon was 35° 53′ S. In the evening they shortened sail, fearing to fall in with the land in the night. Next day, being the 1st of March, they saw the islands of Juan Fernandez to the N.N.E. and got up to them at noon, being in the lat. of 35° 53′ S.[1] The smaller of these islands is that to the westwards, [Masafuero,] which is very barren and rocky. The greater [Juan Fernandez,] to the eastwards, though also very high and mountainous, is yet fruitful and well shaded with trees. This island affords plenty of hogs and goats; and there is such excellent fishing all round, that the Spaniards come hither for that purpose, and transport vast quantities of fish from hence to Peru.

The road or haven of Juan Fernandez, [named la Baia, or Cumberland Harbour,] is at the east end of the island; but they shaped their course to the west end, where they could find no place in which to anchor. The boat being sent in search of an anchorage, brought an account of a beautiful valley, full of trees and thickets, and refreshed by streams of water running down from the hills, with a variety of animals feeding in this pleasant spot. The boat brought also great store of fish on board, being mostly lobsters and crabs, and reported having seen many sea wolves. Finding the island inaccessible, they took a considerable quantity of fish, and procured a supply of fresh water, after which they determined to pursue their voyage.

The 11th March they passed the tropic of Capricorn to the north, the wind in general being E.S.E. and they held their course N.N.W. till the 15th, when being in lat. 18° S. they

[1] The latitude of Juan Fernandez is only 33° 42′ S. The two islands mentioned in the text under this name, are Juan Fernandez and Masafuero; the former in long. 77° 30′, the latter in 79° 40′, both W. from Greenwich. Or perhaps, the second island may be the Small Goat's or Rabbit Island, off its S.W. end, called *Isola de Cabras*, or *de Conejos*.—E.

they changed their course to W. The 3d April they were in 15° 12′ S. being then much afflicted with the flux, and that day they saw a small low island which they got up to at noon. Finding no bottom, they could not come to anchor, but sent some men ashore in the boat. They found nothing here fit for refreshment, except some herbs which tasted like scurvy grass, and saw some dogs which could neither bark nor snarl, and for which reason they named it Dog Island. It is in lat. 15° 12′, and they judged it to be 925 leagues west from the coast of Peru.[2] The interior of this island is so low, that it seemed mostly overflowed at high water, its outskirt being a sort of dike or mound, overgrown with trees, between which the salt water penetrates in several places.

The 14th, sailing W. and W. by N. they saw a large low island in the afternoon, reaching a considerable way N.E. and S.W. At sun-set, being about a league from this island, a canoe came to meet them, in which were some naked Indians of a reddish colour, having long black hair. They made signs to the Dutch to go on shore, and spoke to them in a language which was not understood; neither did the Indians understand them, though spoken to in Spanish, Moluccan, and Javan. Getting near the coast, no bottom could be found, though only a musket-shot from land. They now sailed S.S.W. along the island, making ten leagues during the night, and continued along the shore on the 15th, many naked people continually inviting them to land. At length a canoe came off, but the natives would not venture into the ship, yet came to the boat, where the Dutch gave them beads, knives, and other trifles; but they found them thievishly disposed, much like the natives of the Ladrones, and were so fond of iron, that they stole the nails from the cabin windows, and the bolts from the doors. Their skins were all pictured over with snakes, dragons, and such like reptiles, and they were entirely naked, except a piece of mat before them. A boat was sent ashore well armed, and immediately on landing, about thirty of the natives rushed from a wood, armed with clubs, slings, and long staves or spears, and would have seized the boat and taken away the arms from the soldiers; but on receiving a discharge of musquetry they

[2] Dog Island is in lat. 15° 18′ S. and long. 137° W. about 1200 marine leagues west from the coast of Peru under the same parallel. By the description in the text it seems one of those which are usually termed *lagoon* islands.—E.

they run off. Not being able to anchor here, they called this the *Island without ground.* It is low, and mostly composed of white sandy ground, on which are many trees, which were supposed to be cocoas and palmitos. It is not broad, but of considerable length, being in lat. 15° S. and about 100 leagues from Dog Island.[3]

Finding nothing could be done here, they held on their course to the west, and on the 16th came to another island, about fifteen leagues north from the former. This seemed all drowned land, yet its skirts were well clothed with trees. Here also they found no ground, and it yielded nothing but a few herbs, with some crabs and other shell-fish, which they found good eating. It afforded them also good fresh water, which they found in a pit not far from the shore. The pottage or soup, which they made of certain herbs gathered here, proved serviceable to those who were afflicted with the flux. They called this *Water Island,*[4] because it supplied them with fresh water.

Sailing from this island westwards, they came on the 18th to another island 20 leagues distant from the last, and extending a considerable way N.W. and S.E. Dispatching the boat in search of anchorage, a bottom was found near a point of land, in 25 and 40 fathoms, about a musket-shot from the shore, where also was a gentle stream of fresh water. This news induced them to send back the boat with some casks for water: But after using much pains to get on shore, and searching in the wood to find a spring, they were frightened away by seeing a savage. On getting back to their boat, five or six more of the savages came to the shore, but on seeing the Dutch put off they soon retired into the woods. Although they thus got rid of the savages, they encountered other adversaries of a formidable nature; for they were followed from the woods by innumerable myriads of black flies, so that they came on board absolutely covered with them from head to foot, and the plague of flies began to rage in the ship in a most intolerable manner. This persecution lasted three or four days, on which account they called this *Fly Island,*[5] and by the help of a good breeze of wind, they left it as fast as they could.

Continuing

[3] Sondre-ground, or Without-ground, is in lat. 15° 12′ S. and 143° 25′ W. long.—E.

[4] Water-land is in lat 15° S. and 146° W. long.—E.

[5] The next island W. or rather S.W. from Water-land, and nearly at the distance in the text, is now called Palliser's island.—E.

Continuing their course westwards from the 19th of April to the 9th of May, when they were in lat. 15° 20′ S. and estimated their distance from Peru 1510 leagues to the west, they perceived a bark coming towards them, on which they fired a gun or two to make them strike. But those who were in her, either not understanding the language of cannon, or unwilling to obey, made off as fast as they could; on which the Dutch sent their boat with ten musqueteers to intercept them. Some of the savages in the bark leapt overboard, and the rest surrendered without resistance, on which the Dutch used them kindly, dressing those that were wounded, and saving the lives of some who had leapt into the sea. Besides the men, there were eight women and several children, being in all twenty-three, remaining in the bark. They were a cleanly neat kind of people, of a reddish colour, and entirely naked except the parts of shame. The men wore their long black curled hair, but that of the women was cut short.

The bark was of a singular figure and construction, consisting of two canoes fastened together, in the midst of each of which were two planks of red wood to keep out the water, and several others went across from one canoe to the other, being made fast and close above, and projected over a good way on each side. At the end of one of the canoes, on the starboard side, there stood a mast, having a fork at its upper end, where the yard lay; the sail being of mats, and the ropes of that kind of stuff of which fig-frails are made in Spain. Their only furniture consisted of a few fishing-hooks, the upper part of which was of stone, and the other of bone, tortoise-shell, or mother-of-pearl. They had no water on board, instead of which they satisfied themselves with the liquor of a few cocoa-nuts; in default of which they drank sea-water, which even the children did heartily. The Dutch sent them all again on board their vessel, where the women welcomed their husbands with joyful embraces, after which they made away to the south-east.[6]

The 10th of May, Schouten continued his course W.S.W. and that day saw some very high land to larboard, S.E. by S. about eight leagues off. The 11th they came to a very high island, and about two leagues south from this to one much lower; and the same day sailed over a bank where they had

[6] This double canoe seems to have belonged to the Society islands, and was perhaps bound towards Otaheite, by the course which it followed on getting rid of the Dutch.—E.

had fourteen fathoms on a stoney bottom, about two leagues from the land, and being past this bank could find no bottom. At this time another bark, or double canoe like the former, came up to them, having a small loose single canoe in her, to put out upon occasion. She sailed so fast that few Dutch ships could have outstripped her. She was steered behind by two oars, one in each canoe, and when they have a mind to tack they use oars forwards. Sending their boat to sound at one of these islands, ground was found a cannon-shot from the shore, in twelve, fourteen, and fifteen fathoms, but shelvy. The savages in the bark made signs as if directing them to the other island, but they anchored at the former in twenty-five fathoms on a sandy bottom, a cannon-shot from shore.

This island, in lat. 16° 10′ S. is one entire mountain, looking like one of the Molucca islands, and all covered with cocoa-nut trees, for which reason they named it Cocoa island.[7] The other island is much lower than this, but longer, and stretches east and west. While at anchor off Cocoa island there came three *ships*,[8] and nine or ten canoes about them, having three or four men in each. Some of these holding out white flags in token of peace, the Dutch did so likewise. The canoes were flat before and sharp behind, hewed each out of one piece of a red kind of wood, and sailed very swiftly. On coming near the Unity, some of the savages leapt into the sea and swam to the ship, having their hands full of cocoa-nuts and *ubes-roots*,[9] which they bartered for nails and beads, giving four or five cocoa-nuts for a nail or a small string of beads, so that the Dutch that day procured 180 cocoa-nuts. This traffic brought so many of the natives on board, that the Dutch could hardly stir about the ship.

The boat was now sent to the other island to see for a more convenient place in which to anchor; but she was presently beset by a vast number of canoes filled with a mad sort of people, armed with clubs, who boarded the boat and attacked the Dutchmen. On firing their muskets, the savages laughed at them for making so much noise and doing so little

[7] Cocos, or Boscawen island, is in 16° 32′ S. and long. 169 °35′ W. The other island mentioned in the text, Traitors, or Keppel island, is a few leagues S.S.W. from Cocos.—E.

[8] These ships must have been large double canoes.—E.

[9] These *ubes*-roots were perhaps the same that are called *eddoes* by modern navigators among the South Sea islands.—E.

tle hurt; but, on the next discharge, one of them being shot through the breast, they learnt to pay more respect to the muskets, and to keep their due distance for the future. The savages were lusty, well-proportioned men, and most expert swimmers, but naked and thievish, and very fantastical in the fashion of their hair, some having it short, others long, some curled, and others plaited or folded up in various forms.

On the 12th the savages came again in their canoes, laden with cocoas, bananas, *ubes-roots*, hogs, and fresh water, contending violently who should get first on board. Those who were behind, being unable to get over the throng of canoes and men before them, leapt into the sea, and diving under the canoes, swam to the ship with bunches of cocoas in their mouths, and climbed up the side like so many rats, and in such swarms that the Dutch had to keep them off with cudgels. The Dutch bartered with them that day for so many cocoas, as to produce twelve for each of their men, being eighty-five in number. The natives wondered much at the size and strength of the Dutch ship; and some of them even dived under her bottom, knocking it with stones, as if to try how strong it was. The king of these savages sent a black hog on board as a present, charging the messenger to take no reward. Shortly after he came in person, in a large ship of their fashion, attended by thirty-five single canoes; and when at a small distance from the ship, he and all his people began to bawl out as loud as they could, being their manner of welcoming strangers. The Dutch received him with drums and trumpets, which pleased him much; and he and his attendants shewed their sense of this honourable reception by bowing and clapping their hands. The king gave them a present after his fashion, which they requited with an old hatchet, some rusty nails and glass beads, and a piece of linen, with all which he seemed much pleased. This king was not distinguished from his subjects by any external mark of dignity, but merely by the reverence they shewed him, as he was equally naked with all the rest; but he could not be prevailed on to come on board the Unity.

At noon on the 13th, the Dutch ship was surrounded by twenty-three large double canoes, or ships of their fashion, and forty-five single canoes, in all of which there could not be less than seven or eight hundred men. At first they pretended to come for the purpose of trade, making signs of friendship, and endeavouring to prevail upon the Dutch to

remove their ship to the other island, where they would be better accommodated. Yet, in spite of all these fair pretences, the Dutch suspected that some mischief was intended by the savages, who now began to environ the ship all around, and then, with a great outcry, made a sudden attack. The king's ship was the foremost in the action, and rushed with such violence against the Unity, that the heads of the two canoes composing it were both dashed to pieces. The rest came on as well as they could, throwing repeated showers of great stones on board; but the Dutch, having been on their guard, so galled them with musquetry, and with three great guns loaded with musket-balls and nails, that all the savages were fain to quit their canoes, and seek for safety in the water. Being thus put to the rout, they dispersed as quickly as possible. These treacherous savages were inhabitants of the lower, or more southerly, of the two islands, which therefore the Dutch named *Traitor's Island.*

Schouten sailed from Cocoa Island that same day, holding a course to the W. and W. by S. and came on the 14th to another island, about thirty leagues from Cocoa Island, to which he gave the name of *Hope Island,*[10] because expecting there to meet with refreshments. Finding no ground for anchorage, the boat was sent to sound along shore, and found a stony bottom about a musket-shot from the shore, in some places having forty, and in others twenty and thirty fathoms, and then no bottom at all next throw of the lead. Some ten or twelve canoes came off to the ship, bartering a small quantity of flying fishes for beads, the articles being reciprocally exchanged by means of a rope let down from the stern of the ship. From this peddling traffic the Indians soon after withdrew, and endeavoured to board and carry away the boat which was employed in sounding; but met with such a reception from guns, pikes, and cutlasses, that after two of them were slain, they were glad to hurry away as fast as they could. This island was mostly composed of black cliffs, which were green on the top, and seemed well stocked with cocoa-trees. There were several houses seen along the sea side; and in one place was a large village close beside a strand, or landing-place. As there was no convenient anchorage at this place, the ground being extremely rough, Schouten proceeded on his voyage to the S. W. meaning to pursue the originally intended discovery of a southern continent.

The

[10] Hope Island is in lat. 16° 32′ S. and in 177° 25′ W. longitude.—E.

The 18th May, being in lat. 16° 5′ S. and the west wind becoming very unsteady, they began to consult as to the farther prosecution of their voyage. Schouten represented that they were now at least 1600 leagues westward from the coast of Peru, without having made the expected discovery of a southern land, of which there was now no great probability of success, having already sailed much farther west than they at first intended. He said also, if they persisted in following their present course, they would assuredly come to the southern side of New Guinea; and if they were unable to find a passage through that country, to the west or north, they would inevitably be lost, since it would be impossible for them to get back again, by reason of the east winds which continually reign in these seas. For these reasons, and others which he urged, he proposed, that they should now alter their course to the northwards, so as to fall in with the north side of New Guinea.[11] This proposal was embraced by all the company, and it was immediately determined to change the course to N.N.W. Accordingly, holding their course in that new direction, they saw two islands at noon of the 19th, about eight leagues from them, N.E. by E. and seeming to be a cannon-shot distant from each other.[12] Upon this they steered N.E. with fair weather and a scanty wind, meaning to approach this island, but could only get within a league of it on the 21st, when they were visited by two canoes, the people in which began immediately to threaten them with loud cries, and at the same time seemed preparing to dart their *assagays* or spears: but, on a discharge from the ship, they made off in haste, leaving two of their companions behind them who were slain, and a shirt they had stolen from the ship. Next day other natives came to the ship on friendly and peaceable terms, bringing cocoa-nuts, ubes-roots, and roasted hogs, which they bartered for knives, beads, and nails.

The natives of this island were all as expert swimmers and divers as those in Traitor's Island, and as well versed in cheating and stealing, which they never failed to do when an opportunity offered. Their houses stood all along the shore, being

[11] It is almost needless to mention, that if Schouten had continued his course in the former parallel of between 15° and 16° S. he must have fallen in with the group of islands now called the New Hebrides, and afterward with the northern part of New South Wales.—E.

[12] This was only one island, in lat. 15° S. and long. 180° 10′ W. which they named Horn Island.—E.

being thatched with leaves, and having each a kind of pent-house to shed off the rain. They were mostly ten or twelve feet high, and twenty-five feet in compass, their only furniture within being a bed of dry leaves, a fishing-rod or two, and a great club, even the house of their king being no better provided than the rest. At this island the Dutch found good convenience for watering; and on the 26th they sent three of their principal people on shore as hostages, or pledges, of friendship with the islanders, retaining six of them aboard in the same capacity. The Dutch pledges were treated on shore with great respect by the king, who presented them with four hogs; and gave strict orders that none of his people should give the smallest disturbance to the boat while watering. The natives stood in great awe of their king, and were very fearful of having any of their crimes made known to him. One of them having stolen a cutlass, and complaint being made to one of the king's officers, the thief was pursued and soundly drubbed, besides being forced to make restitution; on which occasion the officer signified, that it was well for the culprit that the king knew not of his crime, otherwise his life would certainly have been forfeited.

These islanders were extremely frightened at the report of a gun, which would set them all running like so many madmen. Yet on one occasion the king desired to hear one of the great guns let off, and being set for that purpose under a canopy, with all his courtiers about him, in great state, the gun was no sooner fired than he ran off into the woods as fast as possible, followed by his attendants, and no persuasions of the Dutch could stop them. The 25th and 26th the Dutch went ashore to endeavour to procure hogs, but were unable to get any, as the islanders had now only a few left, and would only part with cocoas, bananas, and ubes-roots; yet the king continued his wonted kindness and respect, and he and his lieutenant took the crowns from their own heads, and set them on the heads of two of the company. These crowns were composed of the white, red, and green feathers of parrots and doves. The doves of this island are white on the back, and black every where else except the breast; and each of the king's counsellors has one of these birds sitting beside him on a stick.

The ship being completely supplied with fresh water on the 28th, Schouten and Le Maire went ashore with the trumpets, with which music the king was highly gratified.

He

He told them of his wars with the inhabitants of the other island, and shewed several caves and thickets where they were in use to place ambuscades. It plainly appeared that he was fearful of the Dutch having some design of seizing his country, as he would fain have engaged them to go to war with the other island, and even offered to give them ten hogs and a good quantity of cocoas, if they would be gone from his island in two days. Yet he made them a visit aboard, praying when he entered the ship, and praying also at every cabin he entered. He used always to pray likewise every time the Dutch came ashore to visit him. His subjects also shewed great submission to the Dutch, kissing their feet, and laying them on their own necks, with all the marks of awe and fear they could express.

The 30th of May was a day of great ceremony, in consequence of the king of the *other island*[13] coming to visit the king of this. This king was accompanied by a train of 300 naked Indians, having bunches of green herbs stuck about their waists, of which herb they make their drink. To make sure of a welcome, this king brought with him a present of sixteen hogs. When the two kings came in sight of each other, they began to bow and to mutter certain prayers; on meeting they both fell prostrate on the ground, and after several strange gestures, they got up and walked to two seats provided for them, where they uttered a few more prayers, bowing reverently to each other, and at length sat down under the same canopy. After this, by way of doing honour to the stranger king, a messenger was sent aboard, requesting to send the drums and trumpets ashore, which was done accordingly, and they played a march to the great entertainment of the two kings. After this a solemn banquet was prepared, for which they began to make ready their liquor, and in the following strange and abominable manner. A number of Indians came into the presence of the two kings and their attendants, bringing a good quantity of *cana*, the herb of which they make their drink, each of whom took a large mouthful thereof, and having chewed it a while, put it from their mouths into a large wooden trough, and poured water on

[13] No *other island* is to be found in modern maps near Horn Island, the nearest being the Feejee Islands, a numerous group, about thirty leagues S.S.W. It is therefore probable that Horn Island may have consisted of two peninsulas, united by a low narrow neck, appearing to Schouten as two distinct islands.—E.

on the chewed herb. After stirring it some time, they squeezed out all the liquor, which they presented in cups to the two kings.[14] They also offered of it to the Dutch, who were ready to vomit at the nastiness of its preparation.

The eating part of this entertainment consisted of ubes-roots roasted, and hogs nicely dressed in the following manner: Having ripped open their bellies and taken out the entrails, they singed off the hair, and put hot stones into their bellies, by which, without farther cleaning or dressing, they were made fit for the royal feast.[15] They presented two hogs dressed in this manner to the Dutch, with all the form and ceremony used to their kings, laying them first on their heads, then kneeling with much humility, they left them at their feet. They gave the Dutch also eleven living hogs; for which they got in return a present of knives, old nails, and glass beads, with which they were well pleased. The natives of this island were of a dark yellow colour, so tall, large, strong, and well-proportioned, that the tallest of the Dutch could only be compared with the smallest among them. Some wore their hair curled, frizzled, or tied up in knots, while others had it standing bolt upright on their heads, like hog's-bristles, a quarter of an ell high. The king and some of his chief men had long locks of hair, hanging down below their hips, bound with a few knots. The women were all very ugly figures, short and ill-shaped, their breasts hanging down to their bellies like empty satchels, and their hair close cropped. Both sexes were entirely naked, except a slight covering in front. They seemed altogether void of any devotion, and free from care, living on what the earth spontaneously produces, without any art, industry, or cultivation. They neither sow nor reap, neither buy nor sell, neither do any thing for a living, but leave all to nature, and must starve if that fail them at any time. They seem also to have as little regard for the dictates of decency and modesty, as for those of civil policy and prudence; for they will use their women

[14] In the Society Islands, as related by modern navigators, an intoxicating liquor is prepared nearly in a similar manner, by chewing the *ava*, or pepper-root.—E.

[15] Modern voyagers describe this mode of dressing more minutely. A pit is dug in the earth, which is lined with heated stones, on which the hog is placed, having hot stones in its belly, and is covered with other hot stones, when the pit is covered up like a grave. After remaining a sufficient time in this situation, the *barbacued hog* is said to be nicely dressed. —E.

women openly in the largest assembly, even in presence of their king, whom, in other respects, they so greatly reverence. To this island the Dutch gave the name of Horn Island, from the town in Holland whence they fitted out; and named the haven in which they anchored *Unity Bay*, after their ship. This bay, resembling a natural dock, is on the south side of the island, in the latitude of 14° 16′ S.[16]

Leaving Horn Island on the 1st of June, they saw no other land till the 21st, when they made towards a very low island bearing S.S.W. by W. from them, in lat. 4° 47′ S. near which were several sands stretching N.W. from the land, as also three or four small islands very full of trees. Here a canoe came to the Unity, of the same odd fashion with those formerly described. The people also were much like those formerly seen, only blacker, and armed with bows and arrows, being the first they had seen among the Indians of the South Sea. These people told them, by signs, that there was more land to the westwards, where their king dwelt, and where there were good refreshments to be had. On this information, they sailed on the 22d W. and W. by N. in the lat. of 4° 45′ S. and saw that day at least twelve or thirteen islands close together, lying W.S.W. from them, and reaching S.E. and N.W. about half a league, but they left these to larboard. The 24th, the wind being S. they saw three low islands to larboard, S.W. of their course, one of them very small, the other two being each two miles long, all very full of trees, to which they gave the name of *Green Islands*.[17] The shores of these islands were rugged and full of cliffs, presenting no place for anchoring, wherefore they proceeded on their voyage.

On the 25th, being St John the Baptist's day, they sailed past another island, on which were seven or eight hovels, which they named St John's Island. [Lat. 3° 40′ S. long. 206° 20′ W.] At this time they saw some very high land to the S.W. which they thought to be the western point of

[16] The latitude and longitude of Horn Island have been given in a former note, but its most extreme south point may reach to 15° 16′ S.—E.

[17] These Green Islands of Schouten are laid down in our best modern maps in lat. 4° S. and long. 205° 20′ W. The other two groups mentioned at this place in the text and without names, seem to have been the *Four Islands* and the *Nine Islands* of Carteret, to the S.E. of Green Islands.—E.

of New Guinea.[18] They reached this coast by noon, and sailed along, sending their boat in search of an anchorage, but no bottom could then be found. Two or three canoes filled with a barbarous people attacked the boat with slings, but were soon driven away by the muskets. These people were very black, entirely naked, and spoke a quite different language from that of the islanders they had seen hitherto. They kept fires burning on the coast all night, and some of them came lurking about the ship in their canoes; but though the Dutch, on discovering them, did every thing they could to conciliate, they would not understand any signs made for procuring provisions, but answered all with horrible noises and outcries.

At night, they anchored in a bay in 40 fathoms on uneven ground. About this place the country was high and verdant, and afforded a pleasant prospect, being, as they guessed, 1840 leagues west from the coast of Peru. In the morning of the 26th, three canoes came to the ship, quite full of these barbarians, being well armed after their manner, with clubs, wooden swords, and slings. The Dutch treated them kindly, giving them several toys to procure their favour; but they were not to be won by kindness, neither could they be taught good manners except by the language of the great guns: For they presently assaulted the ship with all their force, and continued till ten or twelve of them were slain by cannon-shot. They then threw themselves into the water, endeavouring to escape by swimming and diving; but they were pursued in the water by the boat, when several were knocked in the head, and three prisoners taken, besides four of their canoes, which were cut up as fuel for the use of the ship. Though these savages would not formerly understand any signs, they were now more apt, and understood that hogs and bananas were demanded in ransom for the prisoners. One wounded man was set at liberty, but the Dutch exacted ten hogs for the others. This island afforded a sort of birds that are all over bright red. North of it lay another island, of which they made no other discovery, except its position in regard to this. The Dutch concluded that these people

[18] This land was discovered afterwards to be separate from New Guinea, and is now named New Ireland, having another large island interposed, called New Britain.—E.

people were of the *Papuas* nation, because of their short hair, and because they chewed betel mixed with chalk.

In the evening of the 28th, they sailed from hence, and next day held a course to the N.W. and N.W. by N. with a shifting wind till noon, and then a calm. They had the point of the island in view till evening, though they sailed along the coast, which was full of bays and turnings, and trended N.W. and N.W. by W. This day they saw other three high islands, which lay northwards five or six miles from the greater one, being then in the latitude of 3° 20′ S. The 30th in the morning, several canoes of these black Papuas came off to the ship, and being allowed to come aboard, broke certain staves over the Dutch, in sign of peace. Their canoes were more artificially made and ornamented than the others, and the people seemed more civilized and more modest, as they had the pudenda covered, which the others had not. Their hair was rubbed over with chalk, their black frizly locks appearing as if powdered. They affected to be poor, and came to beg, not bringing any thing to the ship, yet the four islands whence they came appeared to be well stored with cocoas.

On the 1st June, the Dutch came to anchor between the coast of New Guinea and an island two miles long. They were soon after surrounded by twenty-five canoes, full of the same people who had broken staves the day before in token of peace, and who came now fully armed in guise of war. They were not long of entering on the work they came about. Two of them laid hold of two anchors which hung from the bows of the ship, and endeavoured with their girdles to tug the ship on shore. The rest lay close to the ship's sides, and gave a brisk onset with slings and other weapons; but the great guns soon forced them to retire, with twelve or thirteen killed, and many more wounded. After this, the Dutch sailed peaceably along the coast, with a good gale of wind, continuing their course W.N.W. and N.W. by W. The 2d they were in lat. 3° 12′ S. and saw a low land to larboard, and right before them a low island. Continuing W.N.W. with a slight current at E.N.E. they sailed gently along. The 3d they saw high land, bearing W. about 14 leagues from the other island, and in lat. 2° 41′ S. The 4th, while passing these four island, they suddenly came in view of twenty-three other islands, some great, some small, some high, and others low, most of which they left to starboard, and only two

two or three to larboard. Some of these were a league distant from the others, and some only a cannon-shot. Their latitude was in 2° 30′ S. a little more or less.

On the 6th in the morning, the weather being variable and even sometimes stormy, they had in the morning a very high hill before them, bearing S.W. which they thought to have been *Geeminassi* in Banda; but, on a nearer approach, they discovered three other hills more like it in the north, some six or seven leagues distant, which they were convinced were that hill of Banda.[19] Behind these hills lay a large tract of land, stretching east and west, of very great extent, and very uneven. In the morning of the 7th, they sailed towards these mighty hills, some of which they found were volcanoes, for which reason they named this *Vulcan's Island.* It was well inhabited and full of cocoa-nut trees, but had no convenient place for anchorage. The inhabitants were naked, and extremely fearful of the Dutch, and their language so different from that of all the neighbouring people, that none of the blacks could understand them. More islands appeared to the N. and N.W. but they proceeded to a very low island, bearing N.W. by W. which they reached in the evening. The water here was observed to be of several colours, green, white, and yellow, perhaps occasioned by the mixture of some river, as it was far sweeter than ordinary sea water, and was full of leaves and boughs of trees, on some of which were birds, and even some crabs.

On the 8th, continuing their course W.N.W. having a high island on the starboard, and another somewhat lower to larboard, they anchored in the afternoon in 70 fathoms on a good sandy bottom, about a cannon-shot from the land, at an island in 3° 40′ S. which seemed an unhealthy place, yielding nothing of any value except a little ginger. It was inhabited by Papuas or blacks, whose ridiculous mode of dress, and their own natural deformity, made them appear little short of a kind of monsters. Hardly any of them but had something odd and strange, either in the bigness or position of their limbs. They had strings of hog's teeth hung about their necks; their noses were perforated, in which rings were fastened; their hair was frizled, and their faces very

19 They still had the north-western end of Papua or New Guinea between them and Banda, from which they were distant at least twelve degrees of longitude.—E.

very ugly. Their houses also were extremely singular, being mounted on stakes, eight or nine feet above the ground. Before noon of the 9th, they anchored in a more convenient bay, in 26 fathoms, on a bottom of sand mixed with clay. There were two villages near the shore, whence some canoes brought off hogs and cocoas, but the Indians held them at so dear a rate that the Dutch would not buy any of them.

Though they had now sailed so long upon this new land, yet were they unable to determine with any certainty if it actually were the coast of New Guinea, as their charts neither agreed with each other, nor with the coast in view. This coast for the most part ran N.W. by W. sometimes more westerly, and at other times more northerly. Yet they held on their course W.N.W. along the coast, having quiet weather though dull winds, but assisted by a stream or current setting along the coast to the westwards. Proceeding in this manner, they came into the lat. of 2° 58′ S. at noon of the 12th. Continuing their course on the 13th and 14th, the coast in sight was sometimes high and at other times low. The 15th, still pursuing the same course, they reached two low islands about half a league from the main, about the latitude of 2° 54′ S. where they had good anchorage in 45 and 46 fathoms. Seeing the country well stored with cocoas, two boats well armed were sent with orders to land and procure some cocoa-nuts. But they were forced to retire by the Indians, in spite of their muskets, at least sixteen of the Dutch being wounded by arrows and stones thrown from slings.

In the morning of the 16th, they sailed in between the two low islands, and anchored in a safe place in nine fathoms. They landed that day on the smaller island, where they burnt some huts of the natives, and brought away as many cocoa-nuts as gave three to each man of the company. The barbarous natives became now more tractable; as on the 17th they came to make their peace-offerings of cocoas, bananas, ginger, and certain yellow roots [turmeric] used instead of saffron. They even trusted the Dutch so far as to come on board, when peace was entirely restored, and their hearts won by a few nails and beads. They continued bartering on the 18th, for cocoas and bananas, procuring fifty nuts and two bunches of bananas for each man of the company, with a smaller quantity of cassava and *papade*. These cassavas and papades are East India commodities, the former being also to be had particularly good in the West Indies, and far preferable

ferable to what they got here. The people make all their bread of this substance, baking it in large round cakes. This smaller island, which is the more easterly, the natives named *Mosa;* the other over against it they call *Jusan,* and the farthest off *Arimea,* which is very high, and about five or six leagues from the coast of New Guinea.[20] These places had probably been visited before by Europeans, as they had among them some Spanish pots and jars. They were not nearly so much surprised at the report of the great guns as the others had been, neither were they so curious in looking at the ship.

On the 21st at noon, sailing along the land as before N.W. they were in lat. 1° 13′ S. The current drove them to a cluster of islands, where they anchored in thirteen fathoms, and were detained all day of the 22d by storms of thunder and rain. Setting sail in the morning of the 23d, six large canoes overtook them, bringing dried fish, cocoas, bananas, tobacco, and a small sort of fruit resembling plums. Some Indians also from another island brought provisions to barter, and some vessels of China porcelain. Like other savages, they were excessively fond of beads and iron; but they were remarkably distinguished from the natives in the last islands, by their larger size, and more orange-coloured complexions. Their arms were bows and arrows, and they wore glass earrings of several colours, by which latter circumstance it appeared that they had been previously visited by other Europeans, and consequently that this was not to be considered as a discovery.

The 24th, steering N.W. and W.N.W. and being in lat. 0° 30′ S. they sailed along a very pleasant island, which they named Schouten's Island, after their master,[21] and called its western point Cape of Good Hope. The 25th they passed an extensive tract of uneven land on their larboard hand, stretching from E.S.E. to W.N.W. The 26th they saw three other islands, the coast stretching N.W. by W. The 27th

[20] These names are not to be found in our modern general maps, though certainly infinitely better for all the uses of geography than the absurd appellations so much in use among voyagers.—E.

[21] The centre of Schouten Island is in lat. 0° 30′ S. and long. 225° W. It is nearly 24 leagues long from E. to W. and about eight leagues from N. to S. In some maps this island is named *Mysory,* probably the native appellation, and it lies off the mouth of a great bay, having within it another island of considerable size, called *Jobie,* or Traitor's Island.—E.

27th they were in lat. 0° 29′ S. still seeing much land to the south, some of which were very high and some low, which they passed, continuing their course to the north of west. The 29th they felt the shock of an earthquake, which shook the ship to that degree that the men ran terrified out of their births, believing the ship had run a-ground, or had bilged against some rock. On heaving the lead they found the sea unfathomable, and their ship clear from all danger of rocks or shoals. The 30th they put into a great bay, out of which they could find no opening to the west, and resumed therefore a northern course. Here the ship trembled again with loud claps of thunder, and was almost set on fire by the lightning, had it not been prevented by prodigious rain.

The 31st, continuing a northern course, they passed to the north of the equator, and being encompassed almost all round by land, they anchored in twelve fathoms on good ground, near a desolate island which lay close by the main land. The 1st of August they were in lat. 0° 15′ N. The 2d and 3d being calm, they were carried by the current W. and W. by N. This day at noon their latitude was 0° 35′ N. when they saw several whales and sea-tortoises, with two islands to the westwards. They now reckoned themselves at the western extremity of the land of New Guinea, along which they had sailed 280 leagues. Several canoes came off to them in the morning of the 5th, bringing Indian beans, rice, tobacco, and two beautiful birds of paradise, all white and yellow. These Indians spoke the language of Ternate, and some of them could speak a little Spanish and Malayan, in which last language Clawson the merchant was well skilled. All the people in these canoes were finely clothed from the waist downwards, some with loose silken robes, and others with breeches, and several had silken turbans on their head, being Mahometans. All of them had jet black hair, and wore many gold and silver rings on their fingers. They bartered their provisions with the Dutch for beads and other toys, but seemed more desirous of having linen. They appeared so fearful and suspicious of the Dutch, that they would not tell the name of their country, which however was suspected to be one of the three eastern points of Gilolo, and that the people were natives of Tidore, which was afterwards found to be the case.

In the morning of the 6th they set sail, holding a northern course, intending to go round the north point of Gilolo. The 7th they saw the north point of Morty, or Moraty, N.E. of

of Gilolo. Contending with variable winds and adverse currents it was the 19th before they could get into the bay of *Soppy* in Gilolo, where they anchored in ten fathoms on sandy ground, about a cannon-shot from shore. Here they procured poultry, tortoises, sago, and rice, which was a great relief for the company, still consisting of eighty-five men in health and vigour. Leaving Soppy on the 25th August they came to the desert island of Moro on the 1st September, and, on closer examination, found it composed of several islands close together. They saw here a worm, or serpent, as thick as a man's leg and of great length. On the 5th they anchored off the coast of Gilolo. At this place some of the seamen went ashore unarmed to catch fish, when four Ternatese soldiers rushed suddenly out of the wood sword-in-hand while the Dutchmen were drawing their net, intending to have slain them; but the surgeon called out to them *Oran Hollanda,* that is, *Holland men,* on which the soldiers instantly stopped, throwing water on their heads in token of peace, and approaching in a friendly manner, said they had mistaken the Dutchmen for Spaniards. At the request of the seamen they went on board, where, being well treated, they promised to bring provisions and refreshment to the ship, which they afterwards did.

Sailing thence on the 14th they got sight of Ternate and Tidore on the 16th, and anchored on the 17th in the evening before Malaya in Ternate, in eleven fathoms sandy ground. Here captain Schouten and Jaques Le Maire went ashore, and were kindly entertained by the general Laurence Real, admiral Stephen Verhagen, and Jasper Janson, governor of Amboina. On the 18th they sold two of their pinnaces, with most of what had been saved out of the unfortunate Horn, receiving for the same 1350 reals, with part of which they purchased two lasts of rice, a ton of vinegar, a ton of Spanish wine, and three tons of biscuit. On the 27th they sailed for Bantam, and on the 28th of October anchored at Jacatra, now Batavia. John Peterson Koen, president for the Dutch East India Company at Bantam, arrived there on the 31st of October, and next day sequestered the Unity and her cargo, as forfeited to the India company for illegally sailing within the boundaries of their charter.

In consequence of the seizure of the Unity, captain Schouten and Jaques Le Maire, with others of their people, embarked

barked at Bantam in the Amsterdam and Zealand on the 14th December, 1616, on which they set sail for Holland. On the 31st of that month Jaques Le Maire died, chiefly of grief and vexation on account of the disastrous end of an enterprise which had been so successful till the arrest of the ship and cargo. He was, however, exceedingly solicitous about his journal, which he had kept with the utmost care during the voyage, and left a recommendation that it should be published, that the world might know and judge of the usage they had received. The Amsterdam arrived in Zealand on the 1st July, 1617, where her consort had arrived the day before. Thus was this circumnavigation of the globe completed in two years and eighteen days; which, considering the difficulties of the course, and other circumstances of the voyage, was a wonderfully short period.[22]

[22] In the Collection of Harris this voyage is succeeded by a dissertation on the high probability of a southern continent existing, and that this supposed continent must be another *Indies.* Both of these fancies being now sufficiently overthrown by the investigations of our immortal Cook, and other modern navigators, it were useless to encumber our pages with such irrelevant reveries.—E.

CHAPTER VII.

VOYAGE OF THE NASSAU FLEET ROUND THE WORLD, IN 1623-1626, UNDER THE COMMAND OF JAQUES LE HERMITE.[1]

INTRODUCTION.

THE government of the United Netherlands, considering it proper to distress their arch enemy the king of Spain by every means in their power, determined upon sending a powerful squadron into the South Sea, to capture the ships of his subjects, to plunder the coasts of his dominions, and to demolish his fortifications. Accordingly, in autumn 1622, a final resolution for this purpose was entered into by the States General, with the concurrence of their stadtholder, Prince Maurice of Orange, who even advanced a considerable sum of money towards it from his own funds; and a fleet of no less than eleven ships of war, besides smaller vessels, were ordered to be fitted out for the expedition, by the several admiralties of the Union and the East India Company. This fleet was in condition for putting to sea in spring 1623, when the command was intrusted to Jaques Le Hermite, an able and accomplished seaman of great experience, who had been long in the service of the East India Company, and was now appointed admiral of the fleet; Hugo Schapenham being vice-admiral. The ships fitted out on this occasion by the admiralty of Amsterdam were,—

1. The Amsterdam of 800 tons, admiral, carrying twenty brass cannon and twenty-two iron, with 237 men, commanded by Leenders Jacobson Stolk, as captain, Peter Wely being supercargo, Engelbert Schutte commander of the soldiers on board, Frederick van Reneygom fiscal or judge-advocate, John

[1] Harris I. 66. Callend. II. 286.

John van Walbeck, engineer, and Justin van Vogelair, engineer extraordinary.

2. The Delft of 800 tons, vice-admiral, having twenty brass and twenty iron cannon, with 242 men, commanded by captain Cornelius de Witte.

3. The Eagle of 400 tons, captain Meydert Egbertson, of twelve brass and sixteen iron cannon, with 144 men.

4. A yacht called the Greyhound, of sixty tons, captain Solomon Willelmson, carrying four brass cannons and twenty men.

The admiralty of Zealand fitted out only one ship for this expedition.

5. The Orange of 700 tons, captain Laurence John Quirynen, and carrying likewise the rear-admiral, John William Verschoor. Her complement of men was 216.[2]

The admiralty of the Maes furnished the following ships:

6. The Holland of 600 tons and 182 men, carrying ten pieces of brass and twenty of iron ordnance. In this ship was Cornelius Jacobson, who was counsellor to admiral Le Hermite, but the ship was immediately commanded by capain Adrian Troll.

7. The Maurice of 360 tons and 169 men, having twelve brass and twenty iron cannon, commanded by captain James Adrianson.

8. The Hope of 260 tons and eighty men, with fourteen iron cannon, captain Peter Hermanson Slobbe.

The admiralty of North Holland also provided the following ships:

9. The Concord of 600 tons and 170 men, with eighteen brass and fourteen iron cannon, captain John Ysbrandtz.

10. The King David of 360 tons and seventy-nine men, with sixteen pieces of brass cannon, captain John Thomason.

11. The Griffin of 320 tons, and seventy-eight men, with fourteen iron cannon, captain Peter Cornelison Hurdloop.

The whole of this fleet of eleven sail, carrying 294 pieces of cannon, had 1637 men, of whom 600 were regular soldiers, divided into five companies of 120 men in each. The East India Company contributed largely to the expence, but does not appear to have equipped any ships on this occasion.

[2] Her number of guns is not mentioned, but she could hardly have less than thirty-six from her size.—E.

Section I.

Incidents of the Voyage from Holland to the South Sea.

This armament, usually called the Nassau fleet, was by far the most considerable that had hitherto been sent against the Spaniards in the new world, and none so powerful has since navigated along the western coast of America in an hostile manner. It sailed on the 29th April, 1622, from Goeree roads, all but the Orange, which joined next day.

On the 7th June, while chasing a Barbary corsair, a Christian slave, who happened to be at the helm, ran the corsair on board the Dutch vice-admiral, and immediately he and other slaves took the opportunity of leaping on board to escape from slavery. The captain of the corsair, who happened to be a Dutch renegado, followed them, and demanded restitution of his slaves; but the vice-admiral expostulated so strongly with him on the folly and infamy of deserting his country and religion, that he sent for every thing belonging to him out of the corsair, and agreed to go along with the fleet, to the regret of the Turks, who thus lost their captain and seventeen good men.

On the 5th July the fleet anchored in the road of St Vincent, which is extremely safe and commodious, where they procured refreshments of sea-tortoises, fish, goats, and oranges. The islands of St Vincent and St Antonio are the most westerly of the Cape Verds, being in from 16° 30′ to 18° N. latitude, and about two leagues from each other. The bay of St Vincent, in which they anchored, is in lat. 16° 56′ N. and has a good firm sandy bottom, with eighteen, twenty, and twenty-five fathoms water. The island of St Vincent is rocky, barren, and uncultivated, having very little fresh water, though they found a small spring which might have served two or three ships. By digging wells they procured plenty of water, but somewhat brackish, to which they attributed the bloody flux, which soon after began to prevail in the fleet. The goats there, of which they caught fifteen or sixteen every day, were very fat and excellent eating. The sea-tortoises which they took there were from two to three feet long. They come on shore to lay their eggs, which they cover with sand, leaving them to be hatched by the heat of the

the sun. Their season of laying eggs is from August to February, remaining all the rest of the year in the sea. They caught every night great numbers of these animals while ashore to lay their eggs, and the sailors found them wholesome and pleasant food, eating more like flesh than fish.

This island is altogether uninhabited, but the people of St Lucia come here once a year to catch tortoises, for the sake of an oil they prepare from them; and to hunt goats, the skins of which are sent to Portugal, and their flesh, after being salted and dried at St Jago, is exported to Brazil. There are no fruit-trees in this island, except a few wild figs in the interior; besides which, it produces colocinth, or bitter apple, which is a very strong purge.[1] This island has a very dry climate, except during the rainy season, which begins in August and ends in February, but is not very regular.

The island of St Antonio is inhabited by about 500 negroes, including men, women, and children, who subsist chiefly on goats, and also cultivate a small quantity of cotton. On the sea-side they have extensive plantations of lemons and oranges, whence they gather great quantities every year. These were very readily supplied to the Dutch by the negroes in exchange for mercery goods, but they saw neither hogs, sheep, nor poultry in the island.

Sailing from St Vincent's on the 25th July, they anchored in the road of Sierra Leona on the 11th August. Here on the 15th some of the crew being on shore, eat freely of certain nuts resembling nutmegs, which had a fine taste, but had scarcely got on board when one of them dropt down dead, and before he was thoroughly cold he was all over purple spots. The rest recovered by taking proper medicines. Sierra Leona is a mountain on the continent of Africa, standing on the south side of the mouth of the river Mitomba, which discharges itself into a great bay of the sea. The road in which ships usually anchor is in the lat. of 8° 20′ N. This mountain is very high, and thickly covered with trees, by which it may be easily known, as there is no mountain of such height any where upon the coast. There grow here a prodigious number of trees, producing a small kind of lemons called

[1] Cucumis Colocynthis, a plant of the cucumber family, producing a fruit about the size of an orange, the medullary part of which, when ripe, dried, and freed from the seeds, is a very light, white, spongy substance, composed of membranous leaves, excessively bitter, nauseous, and acrid. —E.

called *limasses*, [limes?] resembling those of Spain in shape and taste, and which are very agreeable and wholesome, if not eaten to excess. The Dutch fleet arrived here at the season when this fruit was in perfection, and having full leave from the natives, the people eat them intemperately; by which, and the bad air, the bloody flux increased much among them, so that they lost forty men between the 11th of August and the 5th September. Sierra Leona abounds in palm-trees, and has some ananas, or pine-apples, with plenty of wood of all sorts, besides having an exceedingly convenient watering-place opposite to the anchorage.

They sailed from Sierra Leona on the 4th September, on which day the admiral fell sick. On the 29th they were off the island of St Thomas, just on the north side of the line, and anchored on the 1st of October at Cape Lopo Gonzalves, in lat. 0° 50′ S. At this place the surgeon of the Maurice was convicted on his own confession of having poisoned seven sick men, because they had given him much trouble, for which he was beheaded. On the 30th of October they anchored in the road of Annobon, where they obtained hogs and fowls, and were allowed to take in water, and to gather as many oranges as they thought proper. The east end of this island, where are the road and village, is in lat. 1° 30′ S. and long. 6° E. from Greenwich. The island is about six leagues in circuit, consisting of high and tolerably good land, and is inhabited by about 150 families of negroes, who are governed by two or three Portuguese, to whom they are very submissive. If any of them happen to be refractory, they are immediately sent away to the island of St Thomas, a punishment which they greatly dread. The island abounds in ananas, bananas, cocoa-nuts, tamarinds, and sugar-canes; but the principal inducement for ships touching here is the great plenty of oranges, of which the Dutch gathered upwards of 200,000, besides what the seamen eat while on shore. These oranges were of great size and full of juice, some weighing three quarters of a pound, and of an excellent taste and flavour, as if perfumed. They are to be had ripe all the year round, but there is one season in which they are best and fittest for keeping, which was past before the Dutch arrived, and the oranges were then mostly over ripe and beginning to rot. The island also produces lemons, and has plenty of oxen, cows, goats, and hogs, which the negroes bartered for salt. On the S.E. part of the island there is a good

good watering-place, but difficult to find, which is commanded by a stone breast-work, whence the negroes might greatly annoy any who attempted to water by force. They grow here some cotton, which is sent to Portugal. The natives are treacherous, and require to be cautiously dealt with.

The fleet left Annobon on the 4th November, and on the 6th January, 1624, they were in lat. 44° 40′ S. where they saw many sea-gulls, and much herbage floating on the water, whence they supposed themselves near the continent of South America. On the 19th the sea appeared as red as blood, proceeding from an infinite quantity of a small species of shrimps. On the 28th they lost sight of their bark, in which were eighteen men, three of them Portuguese. These people, as they afterwards learnt, having in vain endeavoured to rejoin the fleet, determined to return to Holland. Being in want of water, they sailed up the Rio de la Plata till they came into fresh water, after which they continued their voyage, suffering incredible hardships, and the utmost extremity of want, till they arrived on the coast of England, where they ran their vessel on shore to escape a privateer belonging to Dunkirk, and afterward got back to Holland.

The 1st February the fleet came in sight of land, being Cape de Pennas.[2] Next day they found themselves at the mouth of the straits. This is easily distinguished, as the country on the east, called *Saten Land*, is mountainous, but broken and very uneven; while that on the west, called *Maurice Land* by the Dutch, or Terra del Fuego, has several small round hills close to the shore. The 6th they had sight of Cape Horn; and on the 11th, being in lat. 58° 30′ S. they had excessively cold weather, which the people were ill able to bear, being on short allowance. On the 16th they were in lat. 56° 10′ S. Cape Horn being then to the east of them, and anchored on the 17th in a large bay, which they named *Nassau bay*.[3] Another bay was discovered on the 18th, in which there was good anchorage, with great convenience for wooding and watering, and which they called Schapenham's bay, after the name of their vice-admiral.

On

[2] This seems to be what is now called Cape St Vincent, at the W. side of the entrance into the Straits of Le Maire.—E.

[3] The centre of Nassau bay is in lat. 55° 30′ N. long. 68° 20′ W. This bay is formed between Terra del Fuego on the north, and Hermite's Island south by east, the south-eastern extreme point of which is Cape Horn. This island appears to have been named after admiral Le Hermite.—E.

On the 23d a storm arose with such violence that nineteen men belonging to the Eagle were compelled to remain on shore; and next day, when the boats were able to go for them, only two of these men were left alive, the savages having come upon them in the dark, and knocked seventeen of them on the head with their slings and wooden clubs, the poor Dutchmen being all unarmed, and not having offered the least injury or insult to the savages. Only five of the dead bodies were found on the shore, which were strangely mangled, all the rest having been carried away by the savages, as it was supposed, to eat them. After this, every boat that went ashore carried eight or ten soldiers for their security, but none of the savages ever appeared again.

The vice-admiral went on the 25th in the Greyhound to visit the coast. On his return he reported to the admiral, that he found the Terra del Fuego divided into several islands, and that it was by no means necessary to double Cape Horn in order to get into the South Sea, as they might pass out from Nassau bay to the west into the open sea, leaving Cape Horn on the south. He apprehended also, that there were several passages from Nassau bay leading into the Straits of Magellan. The greatest part of the *Terra del Fuego* is mountainous, but interspersed with many fine vallies and meadows, and watered by numerous streams or rivulets, descending from the hills. Between the islands there are many good roads, where large fleets may anchor in safety, and where there is every desirable convenience for taking in wood, water, and ballast. The winds, which rage here more than in any other country, and with inexpressible violence, blow constantly from the west, for which reason such ships as are bound westerly ought to avoid this coast as much as possible, keeping as far south as they can, where they are likely to meet with southerly winds to facilitate their westerly course.

The inhabitants of the Terra del Fuego are as fair as any Europeans, as was concluded by seeing a young child; but the grown-up people disguise themselves strangely, painting themselves with a red earth after many fanciful devices, some having their heads, others their arms, their legs and thighs red, and other parts of their bodies white. Many of them have one half of their bodies red, from the forehead to the feet, and the other side white. They are all strong made and well-proportioned, and generally about the same stature with Europeans.

Europeans. Their hair is black, which they wear long, thick, and bushy, to make them the more frightful. They have good teeth, but very thin, and as sharp as the edge of a knife. The men go entirely naked, and the women have only a piece of skin about their waists, which is very surprising, considering the severity of the climate. Their huts are made of trees, in the form of a round tent, having a hole at the top to let out the smoke. Within they are sunk two or three feet under the surface of the ground, and the earth taken from this hollow is thrown upon the outside. Their fishing-tackle is very curious, and is furnished with hooks made of stone, nearly of the same shape with ours. They are variously armed, some having bows and arrows artificially headed with stone; others long javelins or spears, headed with bone; some have great wooden clubs, some have slings, and most have stone knives, or daggers, which are very sharp. They are never seen without their arms, as they are always at war among themselves; and it would appear that the several tribes paint differently, that they may distinguish each other; for the people about the island of *Torhaltens*, and about *Schapenham bay*, were all painted black, while those about *Greyhound bay* were painted red.

Their canoes are very singular, being formed of bark, fortified both on the inside and outside with several pieces of small wood, and then covered over by bark, so as to be both tight and strong. These canoes are from ten to fourteen, and even sixteen feet long, and two feet broad, and will contain seven or eight men, who navigate them as swiftly as our boats. In manners, these people resemble beasts more than men, for they tear human bodies in pieces, and eat the raw and bloody flesh. They have not the smallest spark of religion, neither any appearance of polity or civilization, being in all respects utterly brutal, insomuch that if they have occasion to make water, they let fly upon whoever is nearest them. They have no knowledge of our arms, and would even lay their hands on the edges of the Dutchmen's swords; yet are exceedingly cunning, faithless, and cruel, shewing every appearance of friendship at one time, and instantly afterwards murdering those with whom they have been familiar. The Dutch found it impossible to procure any kind of refreshments from them, though such surely were among them, for quantities of cow-dung were seen; and their bow-strings were made of ox sinews: besides, a soldier who went ashore from

from the Greyhound yacht, while she lay at anchor, reported to the vice-admiral, that he had seen a large herd of cattle feeding in a meadow.[4]

On the 27th of February, 1624, the admiral made a signal for sailing, the wind being then N. so that hopes were entertained of getting from the bay of Nassau to the west; but a storm came on in the evening at W. and blew hard all night. March 3d, they had an observation at noon, when they were in lat. 59° 45′ S. with the wind at N.W. Hitherto it had been the opinion of nautical men, that it was easy to get from the Straits of Le Maire to Chili, but hardly possible to pass from Chili by that strait into the Atlantic, as they imagined that the south wind blew constantly in these seas: but they now found the case quite otherwise, as the frequent tempests they encountered from W. and N.W. rendered it beyond comparison easier to have passed through the Straits of Le Maire from the South Sea than from the Atlantic.

The wind still continuing strong from the west on the 6th, the admiral held a council to consider of a proper rendezvous for the fleet, in case of separation, or of being forced to winter, if these west winds should still continue to oppose their entry into the South Sea. Some proposed the Terra del Fuego, and others the Straits of Magellan. But the majority were of opinion, that it was best to wait two months for a fair wind, and to use their utmost endeavours to get into the South Sea. On the 8th they were in 61° S. on the 14th in 58°, and on the 18th, 19th and 20th they had a fair wind at S.E. with warm weather, so that they were now in hopes of having accomplished their purpose. On the 24th they lost sight of the Maurice and David, the fleet being now reduced to seven sail; and the same evening they were in lat. 47° S. The 25th, having still a fair wind and good weather, they reached 45° S. and were then in great hopes of overcoming all difficulties. The 28th they got sight of the coast of Chili, bearing E.S.E. and in the evening were within a league of the shore, which appeared high and mountainous.

SECTION

[4] This is not at all likely to have been true. The cattle, the dung, and the sinews mentioned in the text, are more likely to have been of some species of the seal tribe.—E.

SECTION II.

Transactions of the Fleet on the Western Coast of America.

THE admiral was at this time confined to bed, and wished to have put into the port of Chiloe; but his instructions did not allow of this measure, requiring the performance of some action of importance against the Spaniards in Peru. It was therefore resolved to proceed for the island of Juan Fernandez, to make the best preparations in their power for attacking the Spanish galleons in the port of Arica, if found there, and to gain possession of that place, after which it was proposed to extend their conquests by the aid of the Indians. On the 1st April, being then in lat. 38° 10′ S. the vice-admiral took to his bed, quite worn out with fatigue, so that they expected to lose both the admiral and him. On the 4th they had sight of Juan Fernandez, in lat. 33° 50′ S. and next day came to anchor in sixty fathoms in a fine bay. The 6th orders were issued to provide all the ships with as many cheveaux-de-frize and pallisades as they could. The Griffin joined the fleet in the evening, not having been seen since the 2d February. She had been in the lat. of 60° S. and had got into the South Sea without seeing Cape Horn. The Orange arrived on the 7th, having twice seen the southern continent on her passage, once in lat. 50°, and the other time in lat. 41° S.[1] The David came in on the 7th, bringing advice of the Maurice, both vessels having been five or six days beating about the island, but hindered from getting in by contrary winds.

The larger and more easterly of the two islands of Juan Fernandez is in the latitude of 30° 40′ S. five degrees west from the coast of Chili; this island being called by the Spaniards *Isla de Tierra*, and the smaller or more westerly island *Isla de Fuera*, which is a degree and a half farther east.[2] The

[1] No land whatever could be seen in these latitudes in the eastern Pacific, so that they must have been deceived by fog, banks, or islands of ice.—E.

[2] Isola de Tierra, the eastermost of these islands of Juan Fernandez, in lat. 33° 42′ S. and long. 79° 5′ E. is about 15 English miles from E. to W. by 5½ miles in its greatest breadth from N. to S. Besides this and Isola de Fuera, mentioned in the text, there is still a third, or smallest

The more easterly and larger island, at which the Nassau fleet anchored, is about six leagues in circuit, and is about two leagues and a half long, from east to west. The road is on the N.E. part of the island, from whence there is a beautiful prospect of valleys covered with clover. The ground of this bay is in some places rocky, and in others a fine black sand, and it affords good anchorage in thirty to thirty-five fathoms. The island produces excellent water, and fish are to be had in abundance in the bay, and of various kinds. Many thousand seals and sea-lions come daily on shore to bask in the sun, of which the seamen killed great numbers, both for food and amusement. Some of the Dutch fancied that the flesh of these animals tasted as if twice cooked, while others thought, after the grease and tallow were carefully taken out, that it was as good as mutton. There were many goats in the island, but difficult to be taken, and neither so fat nor so well tasted as those of St Vincents. There were plenty of palm-trees in the interior, and three large quince-trees near the bay, the fruit of which was very refreshing. They found also plenty of timber for all kinds of uses, but none fit for masts. Formerly, ten or twelve Indians used to reside here, for the sake of fishing and making oil from the seals and sea-lions, but it was now quite uninhabited. Three gunners and three soldiers belonging to the vice-admiral, were so sick of the voyage, that they asked and obtained leave to remain here.

Every thing being in readiness, the fleet departed from *Isla de Tierra* on the 13th April. On the 8th May, being near the coast of Peru, they took a Spanish bark, in which, besides the captain, there were four Spaniards, and six or seven Indians and Negroes. From these, they learnt that the Plate fleet had sailed on the 3d of the month from Calao de Lima for Panama, consisting of five treasure ships, three rich merchantmen, and two men of war. They were also informed that the Spanish admiral was still at Calao, his ship being of 800 tons burden, and mounting 40 brass cannon; besides which, there were two *pataches* of 14 guns each, and forty or fifty unarmed merchant vessels. All these vessels were said to have been hauled on shore, and secured by

island, a mile and a half south from the S.W. end of the Isola de Tierra, called Isola de Cabras or Conejos, Goat or Rabbit island, three English miles from N.W. to S.E. and a mile in breadth.—E.

by three strong batteries and other works, furnished with upwards of fifty pieces of cannon, all ready prepared for the reception of the Dutch, of whose motions the Spaniards had received early and certain intelligence. The viceroy had likewise formed four companies of foot, of eighty men each, but the two best companies had gone with the ships to Panama; and, having just learnt the approach of the Dutch fleet, the viceroy had summoned the whole military force of Peru, so that many thousand men must soon be expected at Lima for its defence.

After several consultations, the vice-admiral made an attempt to land at Calao with the soldiers on the morning of the 10th May, but finding it impossible with any chance of success, was obliged to return to the fleet. On the 12th about midnight, three of the Dutch captains, with twelve armed boats, each provided with a small cannon and a considerable quantity of fire-works, made an attack on the port, while a false attack was made at the same time in another part, to draw off the attention of the Spaniards. The twelve boats entered the port, and distributed their fire-works plentifully among the Spanish merchant ships, by which thirty or forty of them were set on fire and consumed, some of them very large. In this hardy enterprise, the Dutch had seven men killed, and fifteen wounded, mostly in the vice-admiral's boat, which had attempted to board one of the *pataches* and was beaten off. About the dawn of day, nine of the flaming ships drifted towards the Dutch fleet, which was therefore obliged to weigh and take shelter behind the island of Lima. On the 13th this island was taken possession of, and a strong intrenchment thrown up for its defence, under cover of which the Dutch laid their shallops on shore to careen them.

On the 14th Cornelius Jacobson sailed with a division of the fleet, to cruize off La Nasca, Pisco, and other towns to the south of Lima. A rich prize was taken on the 23d, coming from Guayaquil; and that same day, the rear-admiral was detached with two ships and two companies of soldiers to attempt taking Guayaquil, but they found it too strongly defended. On the 27th an attempt was made to destroy the Spanish admiral's ship in the port of Calao, by means of a fire-ship containing 2000 pounds of gun-powder, besides fire-works and shells, confined by a brick arch six feet thick; but after navigating her very near the galleon, a bank was found

found on the outside of her which they could not pass, and they were therefore obliged to retire.

Admiral Jaques le Hermite, who had been in a declining state of health from the time they left Sierra Leona, died on the 2d June, and was buried next day in the island of Lima. The Spanish viceroy having refused to ransom the prisoners made by the Dutch, and the ships being straitened for provisions, especially water, twenty-one Spaniards were hung up at the mizen yard-arm of the Dutch admiral's ship on the 15th June. That same evening, Cornelius Jacobson returned with his detachment, having made an ineffectual attempt on Pisco, which he found strongly fortified, and defended by 2000 men, besides a body of 200 horse which scoured the country. In this attempt he had five men killed and sixteen wounded, and thirteen deserted to the enemy. At this time the scurvy prevailed to a great height in the fleet, so that some of the ships had not sufficient men in a sound state to man their boats; but one day a Swiss, who was very ill of the scurvy, scrambled up to the top of the highest hill in the island of Lima,[3] where he found plenty of a kind of herb with which he had been well acquainted in his own country, and by eating which he soon recovered his health. This becoming public, his example was universally followed, by which the best part of the men were saved from death, and in a short time recovered their health and spirits. On the 5th August, the vice-admiral was installed as admiral, the rear-admiral succeeding him as vice-admiral, and Cornelius Jacobson was advanced to be rear-admiral.

The new vice-admiral soon after returned from his expedition to the road of Puna and Guayaquil, where he had burnt two ships and captured a third. He had also taken Guayaquil after considerable loss, and finding it untenable, and not having boats to carry away the booty, he had set it on fire, burning a great quantity of rich goods in the warehouses, after which he reimbarked his men. The Dutch fleet sailed from the island of Lima on the 14th of August, and anchored that same evening in a bay behind the Piscadores islands, about twenty-three miles north, where they watered. Continuing their course on the 16th, they came in sight of the island of Santa Clara, or Amortajado, on the 24th

[3] The island of San Lorenzo, a little to the south of Calao, is evidently here meant.—E.

24th, intending once more to visit Guayaquil. The fleet anchored on the 25th in the road of the island of Puna, whence all the people had fled, both Spanish and Indians, so that no intelligence could be procured of the strength and dispositions of the enemy. On the 27th, the guns, ballast, and stores of all kinds were removed from three of the largest ships, which were laid ashore to be careened. On the 28th, news came of the second attempt upon Guayaquil having miscarried, through the fault of some of the officers, the troops being defeated and obliged to reimbark, with the loss of twenty-eight men. On the 1st September, the three largest ships being careened, they began to careen the rest.

It was resolved in a council of war not to prosecute the originally intended expedition to Chili at this time, but to proceed for Acapulco, in order to cruize for the Manilla ship; and afterwards, if the condition of the fleet permitted, to return to the coast of Chili. Accordingly, having set fire to the town of Puna, they sailed from thence on the 12th September, and on the 20th October had sight of the coast of New Spain. On the 28th at day-break they were within half a league of an island which lies before the port of Acapulco, and anchored in the evening within sight of the fort, which had been rebuilt the year before, on a point running out to sea, in order to protect the Manilla ships, which might ride safely at anchor under the cannon of that fortress. On the 1st November, a strong detachment of the fleet was sent to anchor twenty leagues west from Acapulco, to look out for the galleon, the admiral and the Orange remaining before the port, and the other ships spread along the coast, that they might be sure of intercepting the galleon. On the 29th, water becoming scarce, and no appearance of the galleon, it was resolved to proceed with all diligence for the East Indies.

Section III.

Voyage Home from the Western Coast of America.

Proceeding therefore across the Great Pacific Ocean, they saw some very low land towards the west on the 15th January, 1625, over which the sea broke with great violence, and

and which they conjectured to be the island of *Galperico.*[1] On the 23d the scurvy had made much progress, that there were hardly men enough to work the ships. In the evening of the 25th, they were off the coast of Guam, one of the Ladrones or Mariane islands, the inhabitants coming two leagues out to sea to meet them, with all sorts of refreshments, which they exchanged for old iron, and next morning 150 canoes came off with fruits and garden stuffs. On the 27th a good watering-place was found, where fifty soldiers were landed to protect the seamen. In the beginning of February, the natives brought them considerable quantities of rice, giving 70 or 80 pounds weight in exchange for an old hatchet. On the 5th, by a general muster, 1260 men were found to remain in the fleet, including 32 Spanish and Negro prisoners, so that they had lost 409 since leaving Holland.

The island of Guam, Guaham, or Guaci, one of the group named by the Spaniards *Islas de las Velas, Ladrones,* or *Mariane* Islands, is in lat. 13° 40′ N.[2] The soil is tolerably fertile, producing vast quantities of cocoas, and the natives grow rice in several places. The Dutch procured here about 2000 fowls, but the natives would not part with their cattle for any price. The people of this island are larger than other Indians, strong and well-proportioned, and are mostly painted red, the men going entirely naked, and the women having a leaf to cover their nakedness. Their arms are *assagaies,* or javelins and slings, both of which they use with great dexterity. Their canoes are very convenient, and go before the wind at a great rate; neither are these islanders afraid of putting to sea even in a storm; as, in case of their vessels being overset, they turn them up again immediately, and bale out the water. They were also very expert in cheating; for when the Dutch came to examine the bags of rice they had bought so cheap, they found the insides full of stones and dirt; besides which, they stole every thing they could lay hold of. Such persons also as land on this island ought to be very cautious, as the Dutch had several of their people slain here, through their own folly.

Proceeding

[1] The relation of the voyage is too vague even to conjecture what island is here meant, but from the direction of the course towards Guam or Guaham, it may possibly have been that now called Dawson's island, about 600 leagues nearly east from Guam.—E.

[2] Lat. 13° 20′ N. long. 143° 20′ E. from Greenwich.

Proceeding on their voyage, they saw an island on the 14th of February, in the latitude of 10° 30′ N. which they took to be the island of *Saavedra*.[3] Next day, about nine in the morning, they saw another island, not laid down in the charts, in lat. 9° 45′ N.[4] the natives of which came out to them in canoes with fruits and other refreshments, but as the ships were sailing at a great rate, they were not able to get on board. The people seemed much like those of Guam, and the island seemed very populous and highly cultivated. It was now resolved to continue their course to the island of Gilolo, and thence to Ternate. The 2d March, they had sight of the high mountain of *Gammanacor*, on the coast of *Moco*, at the west end of the great island of *Haremanera* or *Gilolo*, on the west side of which the Molucca islands are situated. They arrived at *Malaya*, the principal place in Ternate, on the 4th in the evening. The 5th, or, according to the computation of the inhabitants, the 6th, Jacob Le Feure, governor of the Moluccas, came to visit the admiral, from *Taluco*, where he then resided. The fleet proceeded on the 4th of April to Amboina, and on the 28th sailed for Batavia, where they arrived on the 29th of August. Here the fleet was separated, part being sent on an expedition against Malacca, and others to other places, so that here the voyage of the Nassau fleet may be said to end, without having completed the circumnavigation, at least in an unbroken series.

After this expedition, there occurs a wide chasm in the history of circumnavigations, all that was attempted in this way, for many years afterwards, being more the effect of chance than of design.—*Harris.*

[3] The island of Saavedra is in 10° 50′ N. and long. 133° 10′ E. Not far from this is the isle of Cafrifan, in lat. 10° 10′ N. and long. 133° 50′ E. from Greenwich.—E.

[4] This probably was the isle of Cafrifan, mentioned in the preceding note.—E.

CHAPTER VIII.

VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD, IN 1683-1691, BY CAPTAIN JOHN COOKE, ACCOMPANIED BY CAPTAIN COWLEY, AND CAPTAIN WILLIAM DAMPIER.[1]

INTRODUCTION.

IN the Collection of Voyages and Travels by Harris, this voyage is made two separate articles, as if two distinct voyages, one under the name of Captain Cowley, and the other under that of Dampier; though both are avowedly only separate relations of the same voyage, which was commanded by Captain Cooke, and ought to have gone under his name. On the present occasion both relations are retained, for reasons which will appear sufficiently obvious in the sequel; but we have placed both in one chapter, because only a single circumnavigation, though somewhat branched out by the separation of the original adventures. This chapter is divided into three sections: the *first* of which contains the narrative of the principal voyage, so far as related by Captain Cowley; along with which the observations of Dampier upon many of the places, visited during the voyage, are introduced. The *second* continues the adventures of Cowley on his return from India to Europe, after separating from his first companions. The *third* resumes the relation of the voyage, as written by Dampier, and gives a continuation of the enterprise, after the separation of Cowley.

In the remainder of this introduction, taken from the Collection by Harris, an account is given of the origin of this voyage, together with a sketch of the previous adventures of Dampier

[1] Dampier's Voyage round the World, and Cowley's do. both in a Coll. of Voyages in four vols. 8vo, published at London in 1729. Also Harris, I. 77, and Callender, II. 528.

Dampier, before engaging in this enterprise, in both of which are contained some notices of the lawless, yet famous Buccaneers, respecting whom a more detailed account is proposed to be inserted in a subsequent division of this work. Dampier published an account of this voyage, to be found in a Collection of Voyages, in four volumes 8vo, printed at London in 1729, for James and John Knapton, and which have been used in preparing the present relation of this voyage for the press.—E.

The adventures of the *Buccaneers of America*, however blameable, will render these men ever famous by their wonderful exploits. They usually fitted out small vessels in some of our colonies of America, and cruised in these till they were able to make prize of some larger ships. As their designs required the utmost secrecy, they very often took masters and pilots on board under false pretences, and did not explain to them the true nature of their expeditions till out to sea, when they were absolute masters. This was the case with Captain Cowley on the present occasion, a very intelligent man and able navigator, who happened to be in Virginia in 1683, and was prevailed upon to go as master of a privateer, said to be bound for *Petit Goave*, a French port in the island of St Domingo, where these people used to take commissions. In reality, however, their purpose was to take what prizes they could, without the formality of a commission.

It is proper to state, that this voyage, at least in part, is the same with the *first* voyage of Captain Dampier round the world. Before proceeding to the incidents of the voyage, we shall give a concise account of the grounds on which it was undertaken, and the commanders who were engaged in it; and this the rather, that the original journal of Captain Cowley, published by Captain Hacke, gives very little information on these subjects, probably because Cowley was ashamed of having engaged in such an expedition.

Among the Buccaneers who did so much mischief in the Spanish West Indies, was one John Cooke, a native of the island of St Christophers, a brisk bold man, who so distinguished himself as to be promoted to the rank of quartermaster in the ship commanded by Captain Yankey. On taking a Spanish prize, which was converted into a privateer, Cooke claimed the command of her, according to the custom

of the Buccaneers; and being extremely popular, soon engaged a sufficient number of men to serve under him. The great majority of the Buccaneers at this time being French, and dissatisfied to see an Englishman invested with such a command, merely by the choice of the crew, without any commission, they plundered the English of their ships, goods, and arms, and turned them ashore on the island of *Avache*, on the coast of St Domingo, usually called *Ash* by English seamen. On this occasion, an old Buccaneer, named Captain *Tristian*, having more humanity than the rest, carried Captain Davis, Captain Cooke, and eight other Englishmen to Petit Goave; where, while Captain Tristian and many of his men were ashore, these Englishmen made themselves masters of the ship, sending all the French in their turn ashore, and sailed to Avache, where, by using Captain Tristian's name to the governor, they procured all the rest of their countrymen to be sent on board.

Being now sufficiently strong to set up for themselves, they resolved to make prize of whatever came in their way, and accordingly took two French ships, one laden with wine, and the other of considerable force, in which they embarked, carrying her and their prize goods to Virginia, where they arrived in April 1683. After selling their wines and other goods, they purchased provisions, naval stores, and every thing else that might be wanted during a long voyage, and fitted out their prize ship as a privateer, naming her the Revenge. According to the narrative of Cowley, she carried eight guns and 52 men, while Dampier gives her 18 guns and 70 men.[2]

Before proceeding to the narratives of this voyage, it is proper to give a concise account of Captain William Dampier, extracted from his own works, being an extraordinary character and an eminent navigator, whose many discoveries ought to recommend his memory to posterity, as a man of infinite industry, and of a most laudable public spirit. Captain William Dampier was descended of a very respectable family in the county of Somerset, where he was born in 1652. During the life of his father and mother, he had such education

[2] This difference, at least in regard to the size and force of the ship, will be found explained in the sequel, as they took a larger ship on the coast of Africa, which they used during the voyage, and named the Revenge after their own ship. The additional number of men mentioned by Dampier is not accounted for.—E.

education as was thought requisite to fit him for trade; but losing his parents while very young, and being of a roving disposition, which strongly incited him to the sea, those who now had the care of him resolved to comply with his humour, and bound him about 1669 to the master of a ship who lived at Weymouth, in Dorsetshire. With this master he made a voyage to France that year, and in the next went to Newfoundland; but was so pinched by the severity of that climate, that on his return he went home to his friends, almost tired of the sea. Soon after his return, however, hearing of a ship bound for the East Indies from London, he went there in 1670, and entered before the mast in the John and Martha, in which he made a voyage to Bantam.

He returned to England in January, 1672, and retired to the house of his brother in Somersetshire, where he remained all the ensuing summer. In 1673, he entered on board the Prince Royal, commanded by the famous Sir Edward Spragge, and was in two engagements that summer against the Dutch. He afterwards returned to his brother's house, where he met with one Colonel Hellier, who had a large estate in Jamaica, and who persuaded him to go over to that island, where he was some time employed in the management of that gentleman's plantation. Not liking the life of a planter, which he continued somewhat more than a year, he engaged among the logwood cutters, and embarked from Jamaica for Campeachy, in August 1675, but returned to Jamaica in the end of that year. In February 1676, he went again to Campeachy, where he acquainted himself thoroughly with the business of logwood cutting, in which he proposed to advance his fortune; for which purpose he returned to England in 1678. While in Campeachy, he became acquainted with some Buccaneers, who gave him an inclination for that kind of life, in which he was afterwards engaged, but of which in the sequel he became much ashamed.

He returned from England to Jamaica in April 1679, intending to become a complete logwood cutter and trader at the bay of Campeachy; but changed his mind, and laid out most part of what he was worth in purchasing a small estate in Dorsetshire. He then agreed with one Hobby to make a trip to the continent, before returning to England. Soon after commencing this voyage, coming to anchor in Negril bay at the west end of Jamaica, they found there Captains Coxon, Sawkins, Sharpe, and other privateers, with whom all

all Mr Hobby's men entered, leaving only Mr Dampier, who also at length consented to go with them. This was about the end of 1679, and their first expedition was against Portobello. This being accomplished, they resolved to cross the isthmus of Darien, and to pursue their predatory courses against the Spaniards in the South Sea. On the 5th April, 1680, they landed near *Golden Island*, between three and four hundred strong; and carrying with them sufficient provisions, and some toys to gratify the Indians, through whose country they had to pass, they arrived in nine days march at *Santa Maria*, which they easily took, but found neither gold nor provisions, as they expected.

After staying three days at Santa Maria, they embarked in canoes and other small craft for the South Sea. They came in sight of Panama on the 23d April, and in vain attempted to take *Puebla Nova*, where their commander Captain Sawkins was slain. They then withdrew to the isles of *Quibo*, whence they sailed on the 6th June for the coast of Peru; and touching at the islands of *Gorgonia* and *Plata*, they came in the month of October to *Ylo*, which they took. About Christmas of that year they arrived at the island of Juan Fernandez, where they deposed Captain Sharpe, who had the chief command after the death of Sawkins, and elected Captain Watling in his stead. Under his command they made an attempt upon Arica, but were repulsed with the loss of twenty-eight men, among whom was their new commander Watling. After this they sailed for some time without any commander; and, arriving at the island of *Plata*, they split into two factions about the choice of a new commander. Before proceeding to the election, it was agreed that the majority, together with the new commander, should keep the ship, and the minority should content themselves with the canoes and other small craft. On the poll, Captain Sharpe was restored, and Mr Dampier, who had voted against him, prepared, together with his associates, to return over land to the Gulf of Mexico.

Accordingly, on the 17th April, 1681, they quitted Captain Sharpe, without electing any commander, and resolved to repass the isthmus of Darien, though only forty-seven men. This was one of the boldest enterprises ever ventured upon by so small a number of men, yet they succeeded without any considerable loss. Landing on the continent on the 1st of May, they repassed the isthmus in twenty-three days; and

and on the 24th embarked in a French privateer, commanded by Captain Tristian, with whom they joined a fleet of nine buccaneers, on board of which were nearly 600 men. With this great force they were in hopes of doing great things against the Spaniards; but, owing to various accidents, and especially to disagreement among the commanders, they had very little success. Dampier and his companions, who had returned over land from the South Sea, made themselves masters of a *tartan*, and, electing Captain Wright to the command, they cruised along the Spanish coast with some success, and went to the Dutch settlement of Curaçoa, where they endeavoured to sell a good quantity of sugar they had taken in a Spanish ship. Not being able to effect this purpose, they continued their voyage to the Tortugas islands, and thence to the Caraccas, where they captured three barks, one laden with hides, another with European commodities, and the third with earthenware and brandy.

With these prizes they sailed to the island of *Roca*, where they shared them, and then resolved to separate, though only consisting of sixty men. Twenty of these, among whom was Dampier, proceeded with their share of the goods in one of these barks to Virginia, where they arrived in July, 1682. After continuing there some time, a considerable part of them made a voyage to Carolina, whence they returned to Virginia. Having spent the best part of their wealth, they were now ready to proceed upon any plan that might offer for procuring more. Soon after Captain Cooke, of whom some account has been already given, came to Virginia with his prize, and published his intention of going into the South Sea to cruise against the Spaniards. Dampier, who was his old acquaintance, and knew him to be an able commander, readily agreed to go with him, and induced most of his companions to do the same, which was of much consequence to Cooke, as it furnished him with a full third of his crew.

SECTION

SECTION I.

Narrative of the Voyage by Captain Cowley, till he quitted the Revenge on the Western Coast of America.[1]

THEY sailed from Achamack in Virginia on the 23d August, 1683, taking their departure from Cape Charles in the Revenge of eight guns and fifty-two men, John Cooke commander, and bound for the South Sea; but Captain Cowley, who had charge of the navigation of the Revenge as master, not being then let into the secret object of the enterprise, steered a course for Petit Goave in St Domingo, in which he was indulged for the first day, but was then told that they were bound in the first place for the coast of Guinea. He then steered E.S.E. for the Cape de Verd islands, and arrived at *Isola de Sal,* or the Salt island, in the month of September. They here found neither fruits nor water, but great plenty of fish, and some goats, but the last were very small. At this time the island, which is in the latitude of 16° 50′ N. and longitude 23° W. from Greenwich, was very oddly inhabited, and as strangely governed. Its whole inhabitants consisted of four men and a boy, and all the men were dignified with titles. One, a mulatto, was governor, two were captains, and the fourth lieutenant, the boy being their only subject, servant, and soldier. They procured here about twenty bushels of salt, the only commodity of the island, which they paid for in old clothes, and a small quantity of powder and shot; and in return for three or four goats, gave the governor a coat, of which he was in great want, and an old hat. The salt in which this island abounds, and from which it derives its name, is formed naturally by the heat of the sun from the sea-water, which is let into great ponds about two English miles in extent.

This island is about nine leagues from N. to S. and about two leagues from E. to W. and has abundance of salt ponds, whence it derives its name, but produces no trees, and hardly even any grass, some few poor goats feeding scantily upon shrubs

[1] The original narrative of this voyage, written by Captain Cowley, is contained in the fourth volume of the Collection of Voyages published in 1729 by James and John Knapton, usually denominated Dampier's Voyages, and has been used on the present occasion.—E

shrubs near the sea. It is frequented by wild fowl, especially a reddish bird named *Flamingo*, shaped like a heron, but much larger, which lives in ponds and muddy places, building their nests of mud in shallow pools of standing waters. Their nests are raised like conical hillocks, two feet above the water, having holes on the top, in which they lay their eggs, and batch them while standing on their long legs in the water, covering the nest and eggs only with their rumps. The young ones do not acquire their true colour, neither can they fly till ten or eleven months old, but run very fast. A dozen or more of these birds were killed, though very shy, and their flesh was found lean and black, though not ill tasted. Their tongues are large, and have near the root a piece of fat, which is esteemed a dainty.

From hence they sailed to the island of St Nicholas, twenty-two leagues W.S.W. from the island of Salt, and anchored on the S.W. side of the island, which is of a triangular form, the longest side measuring thirty leagues, and the two others twenty leagues each. They here found the governor a white man, having three or four people about him, who were decently cloathed, and armed with swords and pistols, but the rest of his attendants were in a very pitiful condition. They dug some wells on shore, and traded for goats, fruits, and wine, which last was none of the best. The country near the coast is very indifferent, but there are some fine valleys in the interior, pretty well inhabited, and abounding in all the necessaries of life.

The principal town of this island is in a valley, fourteen miles from the bay in which the Revenge came to anchor, and contains about 100 families, the inhabitants being of a swarthy complexion. The country on the sea is rocky and barren, but in the interior there are several vallies, having plenty of grass, and in which vines are cultivated. The wine is of a pale colour, and tastes somewhat like Madeira, but is rather thick.

From thence they went to Mayo, another of the Cape de Verd islands, forty miles E.S.E. from St Nicholas, and anchored on its north side. They wished to have procured some beef and goats at this island, but were not permitted to land, because one Captain Bond of Bristol had not long before, under the same pretence, carried away some of the principal inhabitants. This island is small, and its shores are beset with shoals, yet it has a considerable trade in salt and cattle. In May, June, July, and August, a species of sea-tortoises

tortoises lay their eggs here, but are not nearly so good as those of the West Indies. The inhabitants cultivate some potatoes, plantains, and corn, but live very poorly, like all the others in the Cape de Verd islands.

After continuing here five or six days, they resolved to go to the island of St Jago, in hopes of meeting some ship in the road, intending to cut her cable and run away with her. They accordingly stood for the east part of that island, where they saw from the top-mast head, over a point of land, a ship at anchor in the road, which seemed fit for their purpose: but, by the time they had got near her, her company clapped a spring upon her cable, struck her ports, and run out her lower tier of guns, on which Cooke bore away as fast as he could. This was a narrow escape, as they afterwards learnt that this ship was a Dutch East Indiaman of 50 guns and 400 men.

This is by far the best of the Cape de Verd islands, four or five leagues west from Mayo; and, though mountainous, is the best peopled, having a very good harbour on its east side, much frequented by ships bound from Europe for the East Indies and the coast of Guinea, as also by Portuguese ships bound to Brazil, which come here to provide themselves with beef, pork, goats, fowls, eggs, plantains, and cocoa-nuts, in exchange for shirts, drawers, handkerchiefs, hats, waistcoats, breeches, and all sorts of linen, which are in great request among the natives, who are much addicted to theft. There is here a fort on the top of a hill, which commands the harbour. This island has two towns of some size, and produces the same sort of wine with St Nicholas.

There are two other islands, Fogo and Brava, both small, and to the west of St Jago. Fogo is remarkable, as being an entire burning mountain, from the top of which issues a fire which may be seen a great way off at sea in the night. This island has a few inhabitants, who live on the sea-coast at the foot of the mountain, and subsist on goats, fowls, plantains, and cocoa-nuts. The other islands of this group are St Antonio, St Lucia, St Vincent, and Bona Vista.

They sailed thence for the coast of Guinea, and, being near Cape Sierra Leona, they fell in with a new-built ship of forty guns, well furnished with water, all kinds of provisions, and brandy, which they boarded and carried away.[2]

From

[2] They appear to have named this ship the Revenge, and to have destroyed their original vessel.—E.

From thence they went to Sherbro river, also on the coast of Guinea, where they trimmed all their empty casks and filled them with water, not intending to stop any where again for water till their arrival at Juan Fernandez in the South Sea. There was at this time an English factory in the Sherbro river, having a considerable trade in *Cam-wood*, which is used in dying red; but the adventurers do not appear to have had any intercourse with their countrymen at this place. They were well received, however, by the negro inhabitants of a considerable village on the sea-shore, near the mouth of this river, who entertained Cowley and his companions with palm-wine, in a large hut in the middle of the town, all the rest of the habitations being small low huts. These negroes also brought off considerable supplies to the ship, of rice, fowls, honey, and sugar canes, which they sold to the buccaneers for goods found in the vessel they had seized at Sierra Leona.

Going from thence in the month of December, along the coast of Guinea, to the latitude of 12° S. they crossed the Atlantic to the opposite coast of Brazil, where they came to soundings on a sandy bottom at eighty fathoms deep. Sailing down the coast of Brazil, when in lat. 4° S. they observed the sea to be as red as blood, occasioned by a prodigious shoal of red shrimps, which lay upon the water in great patches for many leagues together. They likewise saw vast numbers of seals, and a great many whales. Holding on their course to lat. 47° S. they discovered an island not known before, which Cowley named *Pepy's Island*,[3] in honour of Samuel Pepys, secretary to the Duke of York when Lord High Admiral of England, a great patron of seamen. This island has a very good harbour, in which 1000 ships might ride at anchor, and is a very commodious place for procuring both wood and water. It abounded in sea-fowl, and the shore, being either rocks or sand, promised fair for fish.

In January 1684 they bore away for the Straits of Magellan, and on the 28th of that month fell in with the *Sebaldine* or Falkland islands, in lat. 51° 25′ S. Then steering S.W. by W. to the lat. of 53° S. they made the Terra del Fuego

[3] An island in the southern Atlantic, in lat. 46° 34′ S. called *Isla Grande*, is supposed to be the discovery of Cowley. According to Dalrymple, it is in long. 46° 40′ W. while the map published along with Cook's Voyages places it in long. 35° 40′ W. from Greenwich.—E.

Fuego. Finding great ripplings near the Straits of Le Maire, they resolved to go round the east end of States Land, as had been done by Captain Sharp in 1681, who first discovered it to be an island, naming it *Albemarle* island. A prodigious storm came on upon the 14th February, which lasted between a fortnight and three weeks, and drove them into lat. 63° 30′ S. This storm was attended by such torrents of rain, that they saved twenty-three barrels of water, besides dressing their victuals all that time in rain water.[4] The weather also was so excessively cold, that they could bear to drink three quarts of burnt brandy a man in twenty-four hours, without being intoxicated.

When the storm abated, they steered N.E. being then considerably to the west of Cape Horn, and got again into warm weather. In lat. 40° S. they fell in with an English ship, the Nicholas of London, of 26 guns, commanded by Captain John Eaton, with whom they joined company. They sailed together to the island of Juan Fernandez, where they arrived on the 23d March, and anchored in a bay at the south end of the island in twenty-five fathoms. Captain Watling, who succeeded Captain Sharp, was there in 1680, and named it *Queen Catharine's* island. At his departure, he accidentally left a Moskito Indian, who still remained, having a gun, a knife, a small flask of powder, and some shot. In this desolate condition, he found it equally hard to provide for his subsistence, and to conceal himself from the Spaniards, who had notice of his being left there, and came several times to take him. He had chosen a pleasant valley for his residence, about half a mile from the coast, where he had erected a very convenient hut, well lined with seal-skins, and had a bed of the same, raised about two feet above the ground. By the help of a flint, he had converted his knife into a saw, with which he had cut the barrel of his gun to pieces, which he fashioned into harpoons, lances, fishing-hooks, and a long knife, by heating them in a fire. All this cost him much labour, but enabled him to live in sufficient comfort. On seeing the ships at sea, he guessed them to be English, and immediately dressed two goats, and a large quantity

[4] It was discovered by the great navigator Captain Cook, who at one time penetrated to lat. 71° 10′ S. that the solid ice found at sea in high southern latitudes affords perfectly fresh water, when the first meltings are thrown away.—E.

quantity of cabbage, to entertain them on landing. He was also much pleased, when they landed on the island, to see two of his old acquaintances, Captains Cooke and Dampier, who had belonged to the ship by which he was left on the island.

The island of Juan Fernandez is in lat. 34° 15′ S. [33° 42′] about 420 English miles from the coast of Chili. The whole island is a pleasant mixture of hills and vallies, the sides of the hills partly covered with wood, and partly savannas, or places naturally clear of wood, bearing fine grass. Among the woods are what are called cabbage-trees, but not so large as in other parts of the world. The goats which feed on the west end of the island are much fatter and better than those at the east end, though the latter has better and greater plenty of grass, with abundance of excellent water in the vallies, while the west end is a dry plain, the grass scanty and parched, and has hardly any wood or fresh water. Though fertile, this island has no inhabitants, who might live here in plenty, as the plain is able to maintain a great number of cattle, and the sea affords vast quantities of seals, sea-lions, snappers, and rock-fish. The sea-lions are not much unlike seals, but much larger, being twelve or fourteen feet long, and as thick as a large ox. They have no hair, and are of a dun colour, with large eyes, their teeth being three inches long. One of these animals will yield a considerable quantity of oil, which is sweet and answers well for frying. They feed on fish, yet their flesh is tolerably good. The snapper is a fish having a large head, mouth, and gills, the back red, the belly ash-coloured, and its general appearance resembling a roach, but much larger, its scales being as broad as a shilling. The rock-fish, called *baccalao* by the Spaniards, because resembling the cod, is rounder than the former, and of a dark-brown colour, with small scales, and is very good food, being found in vast abundance on the coasts of Peru and Chili. This island has only two bays fit for anchorage, with a rivulet of fresh water in each, and both at the east end, and so conveniently situated that they might easily be fortified, and defended by a slender force against a powerful army, being inaccessible from the west, by reason of the high mountains. Five Englishmen, left by Captain Davies, secured themselves here against a great number of Spaniards.

After remaining fourteen days at this island, they left it on

on the 8th April, 1684, steering N.N.E. till off the bay of Arica, whence they sailed to Cape Blanco, in hopes of meeting the Spanish Plate fleet from Panama; but if they had gone into the bay of Arica, they must have taken a Spanish ship which lay there, having 300 tons of silver on board. In lat. 10° S. on the 3d May, they were forced to capture a ship laden with timber, much against their inclination, lest they should be known through her means to be on the coast. They then sailed to the southern island of *Lobos*, in lat. 70° S. about forty-three English miles from the coast of Peru, where they landed their sick for refreshment, heeled their ships, and scraped their bottoms, to render them fitter for action.

This island is named *Lobos del Mar*, to distinguish it from another which is nearer the continent, and called therefore *Lobos de la Tierra*. *Lobos del Mar* is properly a double island, each a mile in circuit, separated by a small channel which will not admit ships of burden. A little way from shore, on the north side, there are several scattered rocks in the sea, and at the west end of the eastermost isle is a small sandy creek, in which ships are secure from the winds, all the rest of the shore being rocky cliffs. The whole of both islands is rocky and sandy, having neither wood, water, nor land animals; but it has many fowls, such as boobies, and above all penguins, about the size of a duck, and with similar feet; but their bills are pointed, their wings are mere stumps, which serve them as fins when in the water, and their bodies are covered with down instead of feathers. As they feed on fish, they are but indifferent eating, but their eggs are very good. Penguins are found all over the South Sea, and at the Cape of Good Hope. The road for ships is between the before-mentioned rock and the eastmost island.

They were now very eager to make some capture, as their provisions, especially water, were very scanty, so that the subsistence of their prisoners, as well as themselves, gave them much anxiety. By information of their prisoners, they were also convinced that their being in these seas was known to the Spaniards, who consequently would keep all their richest ships in port. After much consultation, therefore, it was resolved to make an attempt on Truxillo, in lat. 8° 4′ S. a populous city about six miles from the port of *Guanehagno*, though the landing-place was of difficult access, as at that place

place there was a strong probability of making a considerable booty. They sailed therefore with this design on the 18th May, their whole number of men fit for duty being one hundred and eight. Soon after weighing anchor, three ships were descried under sail, which they chased and captured, being laden with flour from Guanehagno to Panama. In one of them was found a letter from the viceroy of Peru to the president of Panama, intimating that there were enemies on the coast, and that he had sent these three ships to supply their wants. It was also learnt from the prisoners, that the Spaniards were erecting a fort near their harbour of Guanehagno, in consequence of which the design on Truxillo was abandoned. Besides a large loading of flour, the three captured ships had a good quantity of fruits and sweetmeats, which made them agreeable prizes to the English, who were now very short of provisions; but they had landed no less than 800,000 dollars, on hearing that there were enemies in these seas.

It was now resolved to carry their prizes to some secure place, where the best part of the provisions they had now procured might be laid up in safety, for which purpose they steered for the *Gallapagos* or *Enchanted* Islands,[5] which they got sight of on the 31st May, and anchored at night on the east side of one of the eastermost of these islands, a mile from shore, in sixteen fathoms, on clear white hard sand. To this Cowley gave the name of *King Charles's Island.* He likewise named more of them, as the Duke of Norfolk's Island immediately under the line, Dassington's, Eures, Bindley's, Earl of Abington's, King James's, Duke of Albemarle's, and others. They afterwards anchored in a very good bay on the north end of a fine island, called the Duke of York's Island, afterwards changed to King James's Island, the bay being named York Bay. Here they found abundance of excellent provisions, particularly guanoes and sea and land tortoises, some of the latter weighing two hundred pounds, which is much beyond their usual weight. There were also great numbers of birds, especially turtle-doves, with plenty of wood and excellent water; but none of either of these last in any of the other islands.[6]

These

[5] These islands, so named by the Spaniards from being the resort of tortoises, are on both sides of the line, from about the lat. of 2° N. to 1° 30′ S. and from about 88° 40′ to 92° 20′ both W. from Greenwich.—E.

[6] Cowley mentions having found here a *rich mineral ore*, but says nothing of its nature or quantity.—E.

These Gallapagos are a considerable number of large islands, situated under and on both sides of the line, and destitute of inhabitants. The Spaniards, who first discovered them, describe them as extending from the equator N.W. as high as 5° N. The adventurers in this voyage saw fourteen or fifteen, some of which were seven or eight leagues in length, and three or four leagues broad, pretty high yet flat. Four or five of the most easterly were barren and rocky, without either trees, herbs, or grass, except very near the shore. They produced also a sort of shrub, called dildo-tree, about the bigness of a man's leg, and ten or twelve feet high, without either fruit or leaves, but covered with prickles from top to bottom. The only water in these barren isles, was in ponds and holes in the rocks. Some of the isles are low and more fertile, producing some of the trees that are known in Europe. A few of the westermost isles are larger than the rest, being nine or ten leagues long, and six or seven broad, producing many trees, especially Mammee figs, and they have also some pretty large fresh-water streams, and many rivulets. The air is continually refreshed, by the sea-breeze by day and the land-winds at night, so that they are not troubled with such excessive heats, neither are they so unwholesome as most places so near the equator. During the rainy season, in November, December, and January, they are infested with volent tempests of thunder and lightning; but before and after these months have only refreshing showers, and in their summer, which is in May, June, July, and August, they are without any rains.

They anchored near several of these islands, and frequently found sea tortoises basking in the sun at noon. On a former occasion, Captain Davies came to anchor on the west side of these islands, where he and his men subsisted on land-tortoises for three months, and saved from them sixty jars of oil. He also found several good channels on that side, with anchorage between the isles, and several rivulets of fresh water, with plenty of trees for fuel. The sea also round these islands is well stored with good fish of a large size, and abounds in sharks. These islands are better stored with guanoes and land-tortoises than any other part of the world. The guanoes are very tame, of extraordinary size, and very fat. The land-tortoises are likewise very fat, and so numerous that several hundred men might subsist upon them for a considerable time. They are as pleasant food as a pullet, and

and so large that some of them weighed 150 and even 200 pounds, being two feet to two feet and a half across the belly; whereas in other places they are seldom met with above 30 pounds weight. There are several kinds of land-tortoises in the West Indies, one of which, called *Hackatee* by the Spaniards, keeps mostly in fresh-water ponds, having long necks, small legs, and flat feet, and is usually between ten and fifteen pounds weight. A second, and much smaller kind, which they call *Tenopen*,[7] is somewhat rounder, but not unlike in other respects, except that their back shells are naturally covered with curious carved work. The tortoises in the Gallapagos isles resembles the *Hackatee*, having long necks and small heads, but are much larger.

In these islands there are also some green snakes, and great numbers of remarkably tame turtle-doves, very fat, and excellent eating. There are large channels between some of these islands, capable of receiving ships of moderate burden. On the shoals there grows great abundance of sea-weed, called *turtle-grass*, owing to which these channels abound in *green turtles*, or sea-tortoises. There are several kinds of turtles or sea-tortoises, as the *Trunk*, *Loggerhead*, *Hawksbill*, and *Green* turtles. The first is larger than the rest, and has a rounder and higher back shell, but is neither so wholesome nor so well tasted; and the same may be said of the Loggerhead, which feeds on moss from the rocks, and has its name from its large head. The Hawksbill, so named from having a long small mouth, like the beak of a hawk, is the smallest species, and is that which produces the so-much-admired tortoise-shell, of which cabinets, boxes, combs, and other things are made in Europe, and of this shell each has from three to four pounds, though some have less. The flesh of this kind is but indifferent, yet better than that of the Loggerheads; though these, which are taken between the *Sambellos* and *Portobello*, make those who eat the flesh purge and vomit excessively, and the same is observed of some other fish in the West Indies.

The laying time of the sea-tortoises is about May, June, and July, a little sooner or later, and they lay three times each season, eighty or ninety eggs each time, which are round

[7] This word in the text is probably a misprint for *Terrapin*, a trivial name for a species of land or fresh-water tortoise, found also in the warmer parts of North America.—E.

round and as large as an hen's egg, but covered only with a thin white skin, having no shell. When a tortoise goes on shore to lay, she is usually an hour before she returns, as she always chuses her place above high-water mark, where she makes a large hole with her fins in the sand, in which she lays her eggs, and then covers them two feet deep with the sand she had raked out. Sometimes they go on shore the day before, to take a look of the place, and are sure to return to the same spot next day. People take the tortoises on this occasion, while on shore in the night, turning them over on their backs, above high-water mark, and then return to fetch them off next morning; but a large Green tortoise will give work enough to two stout men to turn her over. The Green tortoise gets its name from the colour of the shell, having a small round head, and weighs from 200 to 300 pounds. Its flesh is accounted the best of any, but there are none of this kind in the South Sea. The sea-tortoises found at the Gallapagos being a bastard kind of Green tortoises, having thicker shells than those of the West Indies, and their flesh not so good. They are also much larger, being frequently two or three feet thick, and their bellies five feet broad.

They remained twelve or fourteen days at the Gallapagos, during which time Captain Cooke lived on shore in a very poor state of health. They also landed 1500 bags of flour, with a large quantity of sweetmeats and other provisions, on York Island, which they might have recourse to on any emergency. From one of their prisoners, an Indian of *Realejo,* they had a flattering account of the riches of that place, which he alleged might be easily taken, and for which enterprise he offered to serve them as a guide. Setting sail therefore from the Gallapagos on the 12th June, they shaped their course in lat. 4° 40′ N. with the intention of touching at the *Island of Cocos,* [in lat. 5° 27′ N. and long. 87° 27′ W. from Greenwich.] This island is seven or eight leagues in circuit, but uninhabited, and produces a pleasant herb near the sea coast, called *Geamadael* by the Spaniards. It is so environed with steep rocks as to be inaccessible, except on the N.E. where ships may safely ride in a small bay.

Missing this island, they continued their course towards the continent of America, and reached Cape *Blanco,* or *Trespuntas,* on the coast of Mexico, in lat. 9° 56′ N. in the beginning of July. This cape gets the name of *Blanco,* or the White

White Cape, from two high steep taper white rocks, like high towers, about half a mile distant. The cape itself is about the same height with Beachy-head, on the coast of Sussex, being a full broad point jutting out to sea, and terminated with steep rocks, while both sides have easy descents to the sea from the flat top, which is covered with tall trees, and affords a pleasant prospect. On the N.W. side of the cape the land runs in to the N.E. for four leagues, making a small bay, called *Caldera Bay,* at the entrance to which, at the N.W. side of the cape, a rivulet of fresh water discharges itself into the sea through very rich low lands abounding in lofty trees. This rich wooded vale extends a mile N.E. beyond the rivulet, when a savanna begins, running several leagues into the country, here and there beautifully interspersed with groves of trees, and covered with excellent long grass. Deeper into the bay, the low lands are cloathed with mangroves; but farther into the country the land is higher, partly covered with woods, and partly consisting of hilly savannas, not so good as the former, and here the woods consist of short small trees. From the bottom of this bay one may travel to the lake of Nicaragua over hilly savannas, a distance of fourteen or fifteen leagues.[8]

Captain Cooke had been very ill ever since their departure from Juan Fernandez, and died as soon as they came within two or three leagues of Cape Blanco, which indeed is a frequent incident at sea, as people who have been long ill often die on coming in sight of land. Coming to anchor a few hours after a league within the cape, near the mouth of the before-mentioned rivulet, in 14 fathoms on clear hard sand, his body was immediately carried on shore for interment, under a guard of twelve armed men. While the people were digging his grave, they were joined by three Spanish Indians, who asked many questions, and were at length seized, though one of them afterwards escaped. The other two were carried aboard, and confessed that they were sent as spies from Nicoya, a small Mulatto town twelve or fourteen leagues from the cape, and seated on the banks of a ri-

[8] The bay of Caldera in the text is evidently the gulf of Nicoya, from the bottom of which the lake of Nicaragua is distant about fifty English miles due north. The latitude of Cape Blanco in the text, 9° 56′ N. is considerably erroneous, its true latitude being only 9° 27′ N.

ver of the same name,[9] being a convenient place for building and refitting ships. The president of Panama had sent intelligence to this place of the English being in these seas, in consequence of which the inhabitants, who mostly subsist by cultivating corn, and by slaughtering great numbers of cattle which feed on their extensive savannas, had sent their ox hides to the North Sea by way of the lake of Nicaragua, as also a certain red wood, called in Jamaica *Blood wood*, or Nicaragua wood, which is used in dying. These commodities are exchanged for linen and woollen manufactures, and other European goods.

Learning from their prisoners that there was a large cattle pen at no great distance, where cows and bulls could be had in abundance, and being very desirous of having some fresh beef which had long been very rare among them, twenty-four of the English went ashore in two boats, under the guidance of one of the Indians, and landed about a league from the ships, hauling their boats upon the dry sand. Their guide conducted them to the pen, in a large savanna two miles from the boats, where they found abundance of bulls and cows feeding. Some of the English were for killing three or four immediately, but the rest insisted to wait till morning, and then to kill as many as they needed. On this difference of opinion, Dampier and eleven more thought proper to return aboard that night, expecting to be followed by the rest next day. Hearing nothing of them next day at four p. m. ten men were sent in a canoe to look for them; when they found their comrades on a small rock half a mile from the shore, up to their middles in water, having fled there to escape from forty or fifty Spaniards, well armed with guns and lances, who had burnt their boat. They had taken shelter on this rock at low water, and must have perished in an hour, as it was then flowing tide, if they had not been relieved by the canoe, which brought them safe on board.

On the 19th July, Edward Davis, quarter-master of the Revenge, was elected captain, in the room of Captain Cooke. They sailed next day from Cape Blanco towards Realejo, with a moderate breeze at N. which brought them in three days over against that port, in lat. 12° 26′ N. This place is easily

[9] There is no river at Nicoya, but it is seated on a bay or harbour within the gulf of the same name.—E.

easily discovered from sea, by means of a high-peaked burning mountain about ten miles inland, called by the Spaniards *Volcano vejo*, or the old volcano, which is so high that it may be seen twenty leagues out at sea, besides which there is no other similar mountain on all that coast. To make this harbour, the mountain must bear N.E. and keeping this course will bring a ship directly into the harbour, the entrance of which may be seen at three leagues off. This harbour is inclosed by a low isle, a mile in length, a quarter of a mile broad, and a mile and a half from the main land. It has a channel or entrance at each end of the island, that on the east, being narrow and having a strong tide, is seldom used, but that on the west is much larger and more commodious. In taking this entry, however, ships must beware of a certain sandy shoal on the N.W. point of the isle, and when past this must keep close to the isle, as a sand-bank runs half way over from the continental shore. This port is able to contain 200 ships.

About two leagues from the port, the town of Realejo stands in a fenny country, full of red mangrove trees, between two arms of the sea, the westermost of which reaches up to the town, and the eastermost comes near it, but no shipping can get so far up.[10] On entering the bay in their canoes, they found the country apprized of their approach, and fully prepared for their reception, wherefore the enterprise against Realejo was laid aside. Pursuant to a consultation between the two commanders, Eaton and Davis, they sailed on the 27th July for the gulf of Amapalla or Fonseca.

This is a large gulf or branch of the sea, running eight or ten leagues into the country, and nearly of the same breadth. The S.E. extreme point is called Cape *Caswina*, or *Cosiquina*, in lat. 12° 53′ N. and long. 87° 36′ W. and the N.W. point is Cape Candadillo, in lat. 13° 6′ N. and long. 87° 57′ W. Within this bay are several islands, the principal of these being named *Mangera* and *Amapalla*. Mangera is a high round island, two leagues in circuit, inclosed on all sides by rocks, except on its N.E. side, where there is a small sandy creek. The soil is black and shallow, full of stones, and produces very lofty trees. It has a small town or village in the middle

[10] The account in the text appears applicable to what is now called *El Viejo*, or the old town, nearly 12 miles from the port, but modern Realejo stands almost close to the entrance of the bay or harbour.—E.

dle, inhabited by Indians, and a handsome Spanish church. The inhabitants cultivate a small quantity of maize and plantains, having also a few cocks and hens, but no beasts except dogs and cats. From the creek to the town there is a steep rocky path. *Amapalla* resembles the other isle in soil, but is much larger, and has two towns about two miles asunder, one on its northern end, and the other on the east. The latter is on a plain on the summit of a hill, and has a handsome church. The other town is smaller, but has also a fine church. In most of the Indian towns under the Spanish dominion, the images of the saints in their churches are represented of the Indian complexion, and dressed like Indians; while in the towns inhabited by Spaniards, the images have the European complexion and dress. There are many other islands in the bay, but uninhabited.

Captain Davis went into the gulf with two canoes to procure some prisoners for intelligence, and coming to Mangera, the inhabitants all ran away into the woods, so that only the priest and two boys were taken. Captain Davis went thence to the isle of Amapalla, where the inhabitants were prevented from retiring into the woods by the secretary, who was an enemy to the Spaniards, and persuaded them the English were friends; but by the misconduct of one of the Buccaneers, all the Indians run away, on which Davis made his men fire at them, and the secretary was slain. After this the casique of the island was reconciled to the English, and afterwards guided them wherever they had occasion to go, especially to places on the continent where they could procure beef.

A company of English and French Buccaneers landed some time afterwards on this island, whence they went over to the continent, and marched by land to the *Cape River*, otherwise called *Yare*, or *Vanquez* river, which falls into the gulf of Mexico, near *Cape Gracias a Dios*, on the Mosquito shore. On reaching that river near its source, they constructed bark canoes, in which they descended the stream into the gulf of Mexico. They were not, however, the first discoverers of this passage, as about thirty years before, some English went up that same river to near its source, from the gulf of Mexico, and marched thence inland to a town called New Segovia, near the head of Bluefield's river.

While in this bay of Amapalla, some difference arose between the two captains, Davis who had succeeded to Cooke in

in command of the Revenge, and Eaton of the Nicholas, when they resolved to separate; But they first deemed it proper to careen their ships, for which this place afforded every convenience, and to take in a supply of fresh water. Both ships being in condition for sea, Captain Eaton took 400 sacks of flour on board his ship, and agreed with Captain Cowley to take the charge of the Nicholas as master. From this period therefore, which was in the end of September, the voyages of Cowley and Dampier cease to be the same, and require to be separately narrated.

Section II.

Continuation of the Narrative of Cowley, from leaving the Revenge, to his Return to England.

On leaving the gulf of Amapalla, the Nicholas steered for Cape Francisco, in lat. 0° 50′ N. near which they encountered dreadful storms, attended by prodigious thunder and lightning. From thence they proceeded to the latitude of 7° S. but found the country every where alarmed. They went next to Payta, in lat. 4° 55′ S. where they took two ships at anchor, which they set on fire, because the Spaniards refused to ransom them. Leaving the coast, they went to the island of *Gorgona*, in lat. 2° 50′ N. about four leagues from the main, which the privateers usually called *Sharp's Island*. This is about two leagues long by one league broad, having a good harbour on its west side, and affording plenty of wood and water. It is a common saying in Spanish South America, that it rains often in Chili, seldom in Peru, and always at Gorgona, where they allege there never was a day fair to an end. Though this be not strictly true, it is certain that this island has rain more or less at all seasons, on which account, perhaps, it has always remained uninhabited. They sailed from Gorgona W.N.W. till in lat. 30° N. when they steered W. by N. to lat. 15° N. till they considered themselves beyond danger from the rocks of *St Bartholomew*; after which they returned into the lat. of 13° N. in which parallel they continued their voyage for the East Indies.

They had a regular trade-wind, and a reasonably quick passage across the Pacific Ocean, except that their men were mostly ill of the scurvy; and on the 14th of March, 1685,

1685, being in lat. 13° 2′ N. they came in sight of the island of Guam. By Captain Cowley's calculation, this run across the Pacific Ocean extended to 7646 miles, from the island of Gorgona to Guam.[1] They came next day to anchor in a bay on the west side of the island, and sent their boat on shore with a flag of truce. The inhabitants of a village at that place set fire to their houses, and ran away into the interior, on which the boat's crew cut down some cocoa trees to gather the fruit, and on going again on board were threatened by a party of the natives, who sallied out from some bushes on purpose to attack them. A friendly intercourse was however established between the English and the natives, and trade took place with them till the 17th, when the natives attacked the English suddenly, but were beat off with heavy loss, while none of the English were hurt.

On the 19th the Spanish governor of the island came to a point of land not far from the ship, whence he sent his boat on board with three copies of the same letter, in Spanish, French, and Dutch, desiring to know who they were, whence they came, and whither they were bound. Captain Eaton answered in French, saying that they had been fitted out by some gentlemen in France to make discoveries, and were come in quest of provisions. In reply the governor invited Captain Eaton on shore, who landed with a guard of twenty men doubly armed, and was politely received. On the 18th the governor sent ten hogs on board, together with a prodigious quantity of potatoes, plantains, oranges, papaws, and red pepper, in return for which Captain Eaton sent a diamond ring to the governor worth twenty pounds, and gave swords to several Spanish gentlemen who came off with the provisions. Next day the governor sent to procure some powder, of which he was in want, as the natives were in rebellion, and Captain Eaton gave him two barrels, for which to the value of 1400 dollars were offered in gold and silver, but Eaton refused to accept the money, in consequence of which the governor sent him a diamond ring, worth fifty pounds. Every day after this the governor sent them some kind of provisions, and about the end of March, when

[1] Gorgona is in long. 78° 33′ Guam in 216° 40′, both W. from Greenwich. The difference of longitude is 138° 07′, which gives 9530 statute miles, or 2762 marine leagues, so that the computation in the text is considerably too short.—E.

when about to sail, the governor sent them thirty hogs for sea store, with a large supply of rice and potatoes.

On one occasion the Indians attacked a party of the English, who were on shore to draw the sein, but were beaten off with much loss; yet they afterwards endeavoured to prevail on Captain Eaton to join them in driving out the Spaniards, which he positively refused. On the 1st April, leaving the bay in which they had hitherto remained, the Nicholas anchored before the Spanish fort; and after several civilities on both sides, set sail in the afternoon of the 3d April with a fair wind.

This island of Guam is about fourteen leagues long by six broad, and contains several very pleasant vallies, interspersed with fine fertile meadows, watered by many rivulets from the hills. The soil in these vallies is black and very rich, producing plenty of cocoas, potatoes, yams, papaws, plantains, *monanoes*, sour-sops, oranges, and lemons, together with some honey. The climate is naturally very hot, yet is wholesome, as constantly refreshed by the trade-wind. The Indian natives are large made, well proportioned, active and vigorous, some being seven feet and a half high, and go mostly naked, both men and women. They never bury their dead, but lay them in the sun to putrefy. Their only arms are slings and lances, the heads of these being made of human bones; and on the decease of any one his bones make eight lances, four from his legs and thighs, and as many from his arms. These lance heads are formed like a scoop, and jagged at the edges like a saw or eel-spear; so that a person wounded by them dies, if not cured in seven days.

The great annual ship between Manilla and Acapulco touches here for refreshments, and the Spaniards said there were sometimes eight ships in one year at this place from the East Indies. They said also, that they had built a ship here, in 1684, of 160 tons, to trade with Manilla, and pretended to have a garrison here of 600 men, most of the Indians being in rebellion.

The Nicholas sailed from Guam W. by S. and on computing that they were 206 leagues from that island, they changed to due W. The 23d, when they reckoned themselves 560 leagues west of Guam, they met with a very strong current, resembling the race of Portland, and fell in with a cluster of islands in lat. 20° 30′ N. to the north of Luçonia, [the *Bashee Islands.*] They sent their boat ashore on the northermost

northermost of these islands, in order to get some fish, and to examine the island, on which they found vast quantities of nutmegs growing, but saw no people, and as night was drawing on they did not venture to go any distance from the shore. To this island they gave the name of *Nutmeg Island*, and called the bay in which they anchored *English Bay*. They observed many rocks, shoals, and foul ground near the shore, and saw a great many goats on the island, but brought off very few.

On the 26th of April they were off Cape Bojadore, the N.W. point of Luçonia, and came soon after to Cipe *Mindato*, where they met the S.W. monsoon, on which they bore away for Canton in China, where they arrived in safety and refitted their ship. They had here an opportunity of making themselves as rich as they could desire, but would not embrace it; as there came into the port thirteen sail of Tartar vessels, laden with Chinese plunder, consisting of the richest productions of the East. The men, however, would have nothing to do with any thing but gold and silver, and Captain Eaton could not prevail upon them to fight for silks, as they alleged that would degrade them into pedlars. The Tartars therefore quietly pursued their affairs at Canton, unconscious of their danger.

Having repaired the ship, Captain Easton sailed for Manilla, intending to wait for a Tartar ship of which they had information, bound from that port, and half laden with silver. They even got sight of her, and chased her a whole day to no purpose, as she was quite clean, and the Nicholas was as foul as could well be. They then stood for a small island, to the north of Luçonia, to wait for a fair wind to carry them to Bantam. Instead of one island, they found several, where they procured refreshments.[2] Learning from an Indian that in one of these islands there were plenty of beeves, they sent a boat thither with thirty men, who took what they wanted by force, though the island was well inhabited.

Leaving these islands about the middle of September, 1685, they were for three days in great danger on the banks of

[2] The indications in the text are too vague to point out the particular islands at which the Nicholas refreshed. Immediately north from Luçonia are the Babuyanes Isles, in lat 19° 30′, and still farther, the Bashee Islands, in 20° 30′, both N.

of *Peragoa,* in lat. 10° N. after which they came to a convenient bay in an island not far from the northern coast of Borneo, where they set up a tent on shore and landed every thing from the ship, fortifying themselves with ten small guns, in case of being attacked by the natives, and hauled their ship on shore to clean her bottom. At first the natives of the island avoided all intercourse with the English; but one day the boat of the Nicholas came up with a canoe in which was the queen of the country with her retinue, who all leaped into the sea to get away from the English. They took up these people with much difficulty, and entertained them with so much kindness that they became good friends during two months which they continued afterwards at this island. At this time the Spaniards were at peace with the sovereign of Borneo, and carried on an advantageous trade there from Manilla; of which circumstance Captain Eaton and his people got intimation, and passed themselves for Spaniards during their residence.

This great island is plentifully stored with provisions of all kinds, and many rich commodities, as diamonds, pepper, camphor, &c. and several kinds of fine woods, as speckle-wood and ebony. Cloves also were there to be had at a reasonable price, being brought there from the neighbouring islands by stealth. The animals of Borneo, as reported by Cowley, are elephants, tigers, panthers, leopards, antelopes, and wild swine. The king of Borneo being in league with the Spanish governor of the Philippines, the English passed themselves here as Spaniards, and were amply supplied by the natives during their stay with fish, oranges, lemons, mangoes, plantains, and pine-apples.

The Nicholas sailed from this place in December, 1685, proceeding to a chain of islands in lat. 4° N. called the *Naturah* islands,[3] whence they went to Timor, where the crew became exceedingly mutinous; on which Captain Cowley and others resolved to quit the Nicholas, in order to endeavour to get a passage home from Batavia. Accordingly, Cowley and one Mr Hill, with eighteen more of the men, purchased a large boat, in which they meant to have gone to Batavia, but, owing to contrary winds, were obliged to put in at Cheribon, another factory belonging to the Dutch in Java, where they found they had lost a day in their reckoning during their

3 The Natuna Islands, in long. 108° E. from Greenwich.—E.

their voyage by the west. They here learnt the death of Charles II. and that the Dutch had driven the English from Bantam, which was then the second place of trade we possessed in India. The Dutch were forming other schemes to the prejudice of our trade, wherefore Cowley, with Hill and another of the Englishmen, resolved to make all the haste they could to Batavia, to avoid being involved in the subsisting disputes. They were kindly received by the governor of Batavia, who promised them a passage to Holland.

Cowley and his remaining companions embarked at Batavia in a Dutch ship in March, 1686. They arrived in Table bay at the Cape of Good Hope on the 1st June, where they landed next day, and of which settlement, as it then existed in 1686, Cowley gives the following account:—

"Cape Town does not contain above an hundred houses, which are all built low, because exposed to violent gales of wind in the months of December, January, and February. The castle is very strong, having about eighty large cannon for its defence. There is also a very spacious garden, maintained by the Dutch East India Company, planted with all kinds of fruit-trees, and many excellent herbs, and laid out in numerous pleasant walks. This garden is near a mile in length and a furlong wide, being the greatest rarity at the Cape, and far exceeding the public garden at Batavia. This country had abundance of very good sheep, but cattle and fowls are rather scarce. We walked out of town to a village inhabited by the *Hodmandods*, or Hottentots. Their houses are round, having the fire-places in the middle, almost like the huts of the wild Irish, and the people lay upon the ashes, having nothing under them but sheep-skins. The men seemed all to be *Monorchides*, and the whole of these people were so nasty that we could hardly endure the stench of their bodies and habitations. Their women are singularly conformed, having a natural skin apron, and are all so ignorant and brutish that they do not hesitate to prostitute themselves publicly for the smallest imaginable recompense, of which I was an eye witness. Their apparel is a sheep-skin flung over their shoulders, with a leather cap on their heads, as full of grease as it can hold. Their legs are wound about, from the ankle to the knees, with the guts of beasts well greased.

"These people, called *Hodmandods* by the Dutch, are born white, but they make themselves black by smearing their bodies all over with soot and grease, so that by frequent repetition

tition they become as black as negroes. Their children, when young, are of a comely form, but their noses are like those of the negroes. When they marry, the woman cuts off one joint of her finger; and, if her husband die and she marry again, she cuts off another joint, and so on however often she may marry.

"They are a most filthy race, and will feed upon any thing, however foul. When the Hollanders kill a beast, these people get the guts, and having squeezed out the excrements, without washing or scraping, they lay them upon the coals, and eat them before they are well heated through. If even a slave of the Hollanders wish to have one of their women, he has only to give her husband a piece of tobacco. Yet will they beat their wives if unfaithful with one of their own nation, though they care not how they act with the men of other nations. They are worshippers of the moon, and thousands of them may be seen dancing and singing by the sea-side, when they expect to see that luminary; but if it happen to be dark weather, so that the moon does not appear, they say their god is angry with them. While we were at the Cape, one of the *Hodmandods* drank himself dead in the fort, on which the others came and put oil and milk into his mouth, but finding he was dead, they began to prepare for his burial in the following manner:—Having shaved or scraped his body, arms, and legs, with their knives, they dug a great hole, in which they placed him on his breech in a sitting posture, heaping stones about him to keep him upright. Then came the women, making a most horrible noise round the hole which was afterwards filled up with earth."

On the 15th June, 1686, Cowley sailed from the Cape, the homeward-bound Dutch fleet consisting of three ships, when at the same time other three sailed for Batavia. On the 22d of June they passed the line, when Cowley computed that he had sailed quite round the globe, having formerly crossed the line nearly at the same place, when outward-bound from Virginia in 1683. On the 4th August they judged themselves to be within thirty leagues of the dangerous shoal called the *Abrolhos*, laid down in lat. 13° N. in the map; but Cowley was very doubtful if any such shoal exist, having never met with any one who had fallen in with it, and he was assured by a pilot, who had made sixteen voyages to Brazil, that there was no such sand. The 19th September, Cowley

Cowley saw land which he believed to be Shetland. They were off the Maes on the 28th September, and on the 30th Cowley landed at Helvoetsluys. He travelled by land to Rotterdam, whence he sailed in the Ann for England, and arrived safe in London on the 12th October, 1686, after a tedious and troublesome voyage of three years and nearly two months.

SECTION III.

Sequel of the Voyage, so far as Dampier is concerned, after the Separation of the Nicholas from the Revenge.[1]

THIS is usually denominated Captain William Dampier's *first* Voyage round the World, and is given at large by Harris, but on the present occasion has been limited, in this section, to the narrative of Dampier after the separation of Captain Cowley in the Nicholas; the observations of Dampier in the earlier part of the voyage, having been already interwoven in the first section of this chapter.

This voyage is peculiarly valuable, by its minute and apparently accurate account of the harbours and anchorages on the western coast of South America, and has, therefore, been given here at considerable length, as it may become of singular utility to our trade, in case the navigation to the South Sea may be thrown open, which is at present within the exclusive privileges of the East India Company, yet entirely unused by that chartered body.—E.

Captain Eaton in the Nicholas having separated from the Revenge, left the Gulf of Amapalla on the 2d September, 1684, as formerly mentioned, which place we also left next day, directing our course for the coast of Peru. Tornadoes, with thunder, lightning, and rain, are very frequent on these coasts from June to November, mostly from the S.E. of which we had our share. The wind afterwards veered to W. and so continued till we came in sight of Cape St Francisco, where we met with fair weather and the wind at S.

Cape St Francisco, in lat. 0° 50′ N. is a high full point of land,

[1] Dampier's Voyages, Lond. 1729, vol. I. and II. Harris, I. 84.

land, covered with lofty trees. In passing from the N. a low point may be easily mistaken for the cape, but soon after passing this point the cape is seen with three distinct points. The land in its neighbourhood is high, and the mountains appear black. The 20th September we came to anchor in sixteen fathoms near the island of *Plata*, in lat. 1° 15′ S. This island is about four miles long and a mile and half broad, being of some considerable height, and environed with rocky cliffs, except in one place at the east end, where the only fresh-water torrent of the isle falls down from the rocks into the sea. The top of the island is nearly flat, with a sandy soil, which produces three or four kinds of low small trees, not known in Europe, and these trees are much overgrown with moss. Among these trees the surface is covered with pretty good grass, especially in the beginning of the year, but there are no land animals to feed upon it, the great number of goats that used to be found here formerly being all destroyed. Is has, however, a great number of the birds named Boobies and Man-of-war birds. Some say that this island got the name *Isola de Plata* from the Spaniards, from the circumstance of Sir Francis Drake having carried to this place their ship the Cacafoga, richly laden with silver, which they name *Plata*.

The anchorage is on the east side, about the middle of the island, close to the shore, within two cables length of the sandy bay, in eighteen or twenty fathoms, fast ooze, and smooth water, the S.E. point of the island keeping off the force of the south wind which usually blows here. In this sandy bay there is good landing, and indeed it is the only place which leads into the island. A small shoal runs out about a quarter of a mile from the east point of the island, on which shoal there is a great rippling of the sea when the tide flows. The tide here has a strong current, setting to the south with the flood, and to the north when it ebbs. At this east point also there are three small high rocks, about a cable's length from the shore; and three much larger rocks at the N.E. point. All round the isle the water is very deep, except at the before-mentioned anchorage. Near the shoal there are great numbers of small sea-tortoises, or turtle, formerly mentioned as found at the Gallapagos. This island of *Plata* is four or five leagues W.S.W. from Cape *San Lorenzo*.

After remaining one day at this isle, we continued our voyage to Cape *Santa Helena*, in lat. 2° 8′ S. This cape appears·

pears high and flat, resembling an island, covered on the top with thistles, and surrounded by low grounds, but without any trees. As it jets far out to sea, it forms a good bay on its north side, a mile within which is a wretched Indian village on the shore, called also Santa Helena; but the ground in its neighbourhood, though low, is sandy and barren, producing neither trees, grass, corn, nor fruit, except excellent water-melons; and the inhabitants are forced to fetch their fresh water from the river *Calanche*, four leagues distant, at the bottom of the bay. They live chiefly on fish, and are supplied with maize from other parts, in exchange for *Algatrane*, which is a bituminous substance issuing from the earth near this village, about five paces above high-water mark. This substance, by means of long boiling, becomes hard like pitch, and is employed as such by the Spaniards. To leeward of the point, directly opposite the village, there is good anchorage, but on the west side the water is very deep. Some of our men were sent under night in canoes to take the village, in which they succeeded, and made some prisoners; but the natives set fire to a small bark in the road, alleging the positive orders of the viceroy.

We returned from thence to the island of Plata, where we anchored on the 26th September, and sent some of our men that evening to *Manta*, a small Indian village on the continent, seven or eight leagues from Plata, and two or three leagues east from Cape Lorenzo. Its buildings are mean and scattered, but standing on an easy ascent, it has a fine prospect towards the sea-side. Having formerly been inhabited by the Spaniards, it has a fine church, adorned with carved work; but as the ground in the neighbourhood is very dry and sandy, it produces neither corn nor roots, and only a few shrubs are to be found. The iuhabitants are supplied with provisions by sea, this being the first place at which ships refresh, when bound from Panama to Lima and other parts of Peru. They have an excellent spring of fresh water between the village and the sea. Opposite to this village, and a mile and a half from the shore, there is a very dangerous rock, being always covered by the sea; but about a mile within this rock there is safe anchorage, in six, eight, and ten fathoms, on hard clear sand; and a mile west from this, a shoal runs a mile out to sea. Behind the town, and directly to the south, a good way inland, there is a very high mountain

mountain rising up into the clouds, like a sugar-loaf, which serves as an excellent sea-mark, there being no other like it on all this coast.[2]

Our men landed about day-break, a mile and a half from the village, but the inhabitants took the alarm, and got all away, except two old women, from whom we learnt that the viceroy, on receiving intelligence of enemies having come across the isthmus of Darien into the South Sea, had ordered all their ships to be set on fire, all the goats in the isle of Plata to be destroyed, and that the inhabitants on the coast should keep no more provisions than were necessary for their present use.

We returned to our ship at Plata, where we remained for some time unresolved what course to pursue. On the 2d of October, the Cygnet of London, Captain Swan, came to anchor in the same road. This was a richly-loaded ship, designed for trading on this coast, but being disappointed in his hopes of trade, his men had forced Captain Swan to take on board a company of buccaneers he fell in with at Nicoya, being those we heard of at Manta, who had come by land to the South Sea under the command of Captain Peter Harris, nephew to the Captain Harris who was slain before Panama. As the Cygnet was unfit for service, by reason of her cargo, Captain Swan sold most of his goods on credit, and threw the rest overboard, reserving only the fine commodities, and some iron for ballast. Captains Davis and Swan now joined company; and Harris was placed in command of a small bark. Our bark, which had been sent to cruise three days before the arrival of the Cygnet, now returned with a prize laden with timber, which they had taken in the Gulf of Guayaquil. The commander of this prize informed us, that it was reported at Guayaquil, that the viceroy was fitting out ten frigates to chase us from these seas. This intelligence made us wish for Captain Eaton, and we resolved to send out a small bark towards Lima, to invite him to rejoin us. We also fitted up another small bark for a fire-ship, and set sail for the island of *Lobos* on the 20th October.

Being about six leagues off Payta on the 2d of November, we sent 110 men in several canoes to attack that place. Payta

[2] The great Chimborazo is probably here meant, about 135 English miles inland from Manta, and almost due *east*, instead of south, as in the text. —E.

Payta is a small sea-port town belonging to the Spaniards, in lat. 5° 15′ S. built on a sandy rock near the sea-side, under a high hill. Although not containing more than seventy-five or eighty low mean houses, like most of the other buildings along the coast of Peru, it has two churches. The walls of these houses are chiefly built of a kind of bricks, made of earth and straw, only dried in the sun. These bricks are three feet long, two broad, and a foot and a half thick. In some places, instead of roofs, they only lay a few poles across the tops of the walls, covered with mats, though in other places they have regularly-constructed roofs. The cause of this mean kind of building is partly from the want of stones and timber, and partly because it never rains on this coast, so that they are only solicitious to keep out the sun; and these walls, notwithstanding the slight nature of their materials, continue good a long time, as they are never injured by rain. The timber used by the better sort of people has to be brought by sea from other places. The walls of the churches and of the best houses are neatly whitened, both within and without, and the beams, posts, and doors are all adorned with carved work. Within they are ornamanted with good pictures, and rich hangings of tapestry or painted calico, brought from Spain. The houses of Payta, however, were not of this description, though their two churches were large and handsome. Close by the sea there was a small fort, armed only with muskets, to command the harbour, as also another fort on the top of a hill, which commanded both the harbour and lower fort. The inhabitants of Payta are obliged to bring their fresh-water from Colon, a town two leagues to the N.N.E. where a fresh-water river falls into the sea; and have also to procure fowls, hogs, plantains, maize, and other provisions from that and other places, owing to the barrenness of the soil in its own neighbourhood. The dry and barren tract of this western coast of America begins at Cape Blanco in the north, and reaches to Coquimbo in 30° S. in all of which vast extent of coast I never saw or heard of any rain falling, nor of any thing growing whatever either in the mountains or vallies, except in such places as are constantly watered, in consequence of being on the banks of rivers and streams.

The inhabitants of Colon are much given to fishing, for which purpose they venture out to sea in *bark-logs*.[3] These are

[3] I suspect this to be a mistaken translation of *barco-longo*, long barks, or rafts rather, as the subsequent description indicates.—E.

are constructed of several round logs of wood, forming a raft, but different according to the uses they are intended for, or the customs of those that make them. Those meant for fishing consist only of three or five logs of wood about eight feet long, the middle one longer than the rest, especially forewards, and the others gradually shorter, forming a kind of stem or prow to cut the waves. The logs are joined to each other's sides by wooden pegs and *withes*, or twisted branches of trees. Such as are intended for carrying merchandise are made in the same manner and shape, but the raft consists of twenty or thirty great trunks of trees, thirty or forty feet long, joined together as before. On these another row of shorter trees are laid across, and fastened down by wooden pegs. From this double raft or bottom they raise a raft of ten feet high, by means of upright posts, which support two layers of thick trees laid across each other, like our piles of wood, but not so close as in the bottom of the float; these being formed only at the ends and sides, the inner part being left hollow. In this hollow, at the height of four feet from the floor of the raft, they lay a deck or floor of small poles close together, serving as the floor or deck of another room; and above this, at the same height, they lay just such another sparred deck. The lower room serves for the hold, in which they stow ballast, and water casks or jars. The second room serves for the seamen and what belongs to them. Above all the goods are stowed, as high as they deem fit, but seldom exceeding the height of ten feet. Some space is left vacant behind for the steersman, and before for the kitchen, especially in long voyages, for in these strange vessels they will venture to make voyages of five or six hundred leagues.

In navigating these vessels, they use a very large rudder, with one mast in the middle of the machine, on which they have a large sail, like our west country barges on the river Thames. As these machines can only sail before the wind, they are only fit for these seas, where the wind blows constantly one way, seldom varying above a point or two in the whole voyage from Lima to Panama. If, when near Panama, they happen to meet a north-west wind, as sometimes happens, they must drive before it till it changes, merely using their best endeavours to avoid the shore, for they will never sink at sea. Such vessels carry sixty or seventy tons of merchandise, as wine, oil, flour, sugar, Quito cloth, soap, dressed goats skins, &c. They are navigated by three or

four men only; who, on their arrival at Panama, sell both the goods and vessel at that place, as they cannot go back again with them against the trade-wind. The smaller fishing barks of this construction are much easier managed. These go out to sea at night with the land-wind, and return to the shore in the day with the sea-breeze; and such small *barco longos* are used in many parts of America, and in some places in the East Indies. On the coast of Coromandel they use only one log, or sometimes two, made of light wood, managed by one man, without sail or rudder, who steers the log with a paddle, sitting with his legs in the water.[3]

The next town to Payta of any consequence is *Piura*, thirty miles from Payta, seated in a valley on a river of the same name, which discharges its waters into the bay of *Chirapee* [or Sechura,] in lat. 5° 32′ S. This bay is seldom visited by ships of burden, being full of shoals; but the harbour of Payta is one of the best on the coast of Peru, being sheltered on the S.W. by a point of land, which renders the bay smooth and the anchorage safe, in from six to twenty fathoms on clear sand. Most ships navigating this coast, whether bound north or south, touch at this port for fresh water, which is brought to them from *Colon* at a reasonable rate.

Early in the morning of the 3d November, our men landed about four miles south of Payta, where they took some prisoners who were set there to watch. Though informed that the governor of Piura had come to the defence of Payta with a reinforcement of an hundred men, they immediately pushed to the fort on the hill, which they took with little resistance, on which the governor and all the inhabitants evacuated Payta, but which we found empty of money, goods, and provisions. That same evening we brought our ships to anchor near the town, in ten fathoms a mile from shore, and remained six days in hopes of getting a ransom for the town; but seeing we were not likely to have any, we set it on fire, and set sail at night with the land-breeze for the island of Lobos. The 14th we came in sight of *Lobos de Tierra*, the inner or northern island of Lobos, which is of moderate height, and appears at a distance like *Lobos del Mare*, the southern island of the same name, at which other island we arrived

[3] On the coast of Coromandel these small rafts are named *Catamarans*, and are employed for carrying letters or messages between the shore and the ships, through the tremendous surf which continually breaks on that coast.—E.

arrived on the 19th. The evening of the 29th we set sail for the bay of Guayaquil, which lies between Cape *Blanco* in lat. 4° 13′, and the point of *Chanday*, or *Carnera*, in 2° 18′ both S. In the bottom of this bay is a small isle, called *Santa Clara*, extending E. and W. and having many shoals, which make ships that intend for Guayaquil to pass on the south side of this island.

From the isles of Santa Clara to *Punta arena*, the N.W. point of the island of Puna, is seven leagues [thirty statute miles] N.N.E. Here ships bound for Guayaquil take in pilots, who live in a town in Puna of the same name, at its N.E. extremity, seven leagues [twenty-five miles] from Punta arena. The island of Puna is low, stretching fourteen leagues E. and W. and five leagues from N. to S.[4] It has a strong tide running along its shores, which are full of little creeks and harbours. The interior of this island consists of good pasture land, intermixed with some woodlands, producing various kinds of trees to us unknown. Among these are abundance of *Palmitoes*, a tree about the thickness of an ordinary ash, and thirty feet high, having a straight trunk without branches or leaf, except at the very top, which spreads out into many small branches three or four feet long. At the extremity of each of these is a single leaf, which at first resembles a fan plaited together, and then opens out like a large unfolded fan. The houses in the town of Puna are built on posts ten or twelve feet high, and are thatched with palmito leaves, the inhabitants having to go up to them by means of ladders. The best place for anchorage is directly opposite the town, in five fathoms, a cable's length from shore.

From Puna to Guayaquil is seven leagues, the entrance into the river of that name being two miles across, and it afterwards runs up into the country with a pretty straight course, the ground on both sides being marshy and full of red mangrove trees. About four miles below the town of Guayaquil, the river is divided into two channels by a small low island, that on the west being broadest, though the other is as deep. From the upper end of this island to the town is about a league, and the river about the same in breadth, in which a ship of large burden may ride safely, especially on the

[4] Puna is nearly forty English miles from N.E. to S.W. and about sixteen miles from N.W. to S.E.

the side nearest the town. The town of Guayaquil stands close to the river, being partly built on an ascent, and partly at the foot of a small hill, having a steep descent to the river. It is defended by two forts on the low grounds, and a third on the hill, and is one of the best ports belonging to the Spaniards in the South Sea. It is under the command of a governor, and is beautified by several fine churches and other good buildings. From this place they export cocoas, hides, tallow, sarsaparilla, drugs, and a kind of woollen cloth called Quito-cloth. The cocoas grow on both sides of the river above the town, having a smaller nut than those of Campeachy.[5] Sarsaparilla delights in watery places, near the side of the river.

Quito is a populous place in the interior of the country, almost under the line, being in lat. 0° 12′ S. and long. 78° 22′ W. from Greenwich. It is inclosed by a ridge of high mountains, abounding in gold, being inhabited by a few Spaniards, and by many Indians under the Spanish dominion. The rivers or streams which descend from the surrounding mountains carry great abundance of gold dust in their course into the low grounds, especially after violent rains, and this gold is collected out of the sand by washing. Quito is reckoned the richest place for gold in all Peru,[6] but it is unwholesome, the inhabitants being subject to headaches, fevers, diarrhæs, and dysenteries; but Guayaquil is greatly more healthy. At Quito is made a considerable quantity of coarse woollen cloth, worn only by the lower class all over the kingdom of Peru.

Leaving our ships at Cape Blanco, we went in a bark and several canoes to make an attempt on Guayaquil, but were discovered, and returned therefore to our ships, in which we sailed for the island of Plata, in lat. 1° 15′ S. where we arrived on the 16th December. Having provided ourselves with water on the opposite coast of the continent, we set sail on the 23d with a brisk gale at S.S.W. directing our course for a town called *Lovalia,* in the bay of Panama. Next morning we passed in sight of Cape *Passado,* in lat. 0° 28′ S. being a very high round point, divided in the middle, bare towards the sea, but covered on the land side with fruit-trees, the

[5] The *cacao,* or chocolate-nut is probably here meant, not the *cocoa-nut.*—E.

[6] Quito was annexed to the empire of Peru, not long before the Spanish conquest, but is now in the viceroyalty of New Granada.—E.

the land thereabout being hilly and covered with wood. Between this and Cape San Francisco there are many small points, inclosing as many sandy creeks full of trees of various kinds. Meaning to look out for canoes, we were indifferent what river we came to, so we endeavoured to make for the river of St Jago, by reason of its nearness to the island of *Gallo,* in which there is much gold, and where was good anchorage for our ships. We passed Cape St Francisco, whence to the north the land along the sea is full of trees of vast height and thickness.

Between this cape and the island of Gallo there are several large rivers, all of which we passed in our way to that of St Jago, a large navigable river in lat. 2° N.[7] About seven leagues before it reaches the sea, this river divides into two branches, which inclose an island four leagues in circuit. Both branches are very deep, but the S.W. channel is the broadest, and the other has sand-banks at its mouth, which cannot be passed at low-water. Above the island the river is a league broad, having a straight channel and swift current, and is navigable three leagues up, but how much farther I know not. It runs through a very rich soil, producing all kinds of the tallest trees that are usually met with in this country, but especially red and white cotton-trees, and cabbage-trees of large size. The *white cotton-tree* grows not unlike an oak, but much bigger and taller, having a straight trunk, without branches to the top, where it sends out strong branches. The bark is very smooth, the leaves of the size of a plum-tree leaf, dark green, oval, smooth, and jagged at the ends. These trees are not always biggest near the roots, but often swell out to a great size in the middle of their trunks. They bear *silk-cotton,* which falls to the ground in November and December, but is not so substantial as that of the cotton-shrub, being rather like the down of thistles. Hence they do not think it worth being gathered in America; but in the East Indies it is used for stuffing pillows. The old leaves of this tree fall off in April, and are succeeded by fresh leaves in the course of a week. The *red cotton-tree* is somewhat less in size, but in other respects resembles the other, except that it produces *no cotton.* The wood is hard, though that

[7] Nearly in the indicated latitude is the river of Patia, in the province of Barbacoas. The river St Jago of modern maps on this coast is in lat. 1° 13′ N. in the province of Atacames, or Esmeraldas.—E.

that of both kinds is somewhat spongy. Both are found in fat soils, both in the East and West Indies.

The *cabbage-tree* is the tallest that is found in these woods, some exceeding 120 feet in height. It likewise is without boughs or branches to the top, where its branches are the thickness of a man's arm, and twelve or fourteen feet long. Two feet from the stem come forth many small long leaves of an inch broad, so thick and regular on both sides that they cover the whole branch. In the midst of these high branches is what is called the cabbage, which, when taken out of the outer leaves, is a foot in length, and as thick as the small of a man's leg, as white as milk, and both sweet and wholesome. Between the cabbages and the large branches many small twigs sprout out, two feet long and very close together, at the extremities of which grow hard round berries, about the size of cherries, which fall once a year on the ground, and are excellent food for hogs. The trunk has projecting rings half a foot asunder, the bark being thin and brittle, the wood hard and black, and the pith white. As the tree dies when deprived of its head, which is the cabbage, it is usually cut down before gathering the fruit.

As the coast and country of Lima has continual dry weather, so this northern part of Peru is seldom without rain, which is perhaps one reason why this part of the coast is so little known. Besides, in going from Panama to Lima, they seldom pass along the coast, but sail to the west as far as the Cobaya Islands, to meet the west winds, and thence stand over for Cape St Francisco. In returning to Panama, they keep along the coast, but being deeply laden, their ships are not fit to enter the rivers, the banks of which, and the sea-coast, are covered with trees and bushes, and are therefore convenient for the natives to lie in ambush. The Indians have some plantations of maize and plantains, and also breed fowls and hogs. On the 27th December, 1684, we entered the river of St Jago [*Patia*] with four canoes by the lesser branch, and met with no inhabitants till six leagues from its mouth, where we observed two small huts thatched with palmito leaves. We saw at the same time several Indians, with their families and household goods, paddling up the river much faster than we could row, as they kept near the banks. On the opposite, or west side, we saw many other huts, about a league off, but did not venture to cross the river, as the current was very rapid. In the two huts on the

east

east side we only found a few plantains, some fowls, and one hog, which seemed to be of the European kind, such as the Spaniards brought formerly to America, and chiefly to Jamaica, Hispaniola, and Cuba, where, being previously marked, they feed in the woods all day, and are recalled to their pens at night by the sound of conch shells.

We returned next morning to the mouth of the river, intending to proceed to the isle of *Gallo*, where we had directed the ships to meet us. This small uninhabited island, in lat. 3° N.[8] is situated in a spacious bay, three leagues from the river *Tomaco*, and four and a half from an Indian village of the same name. It is moderately high, and well stored with timber, having a good sandy bay at its N.E. end, near which is a fine stream of fresh water; and over against the bay there is good anchorage in six or seven fathoms. There is only one channel by which to approach this island, in which are four fathoms, and into which it is necessary to enter with the flood, and to come out with the ebb. The river *Tomaco* is supposed to have its origin in the rich mountains of Quito, and takes its name from that of a village on its banks.[9] The country on this river is well peopled by Indians, among whom are a few Spaniards, who traffic for gold with the natives. This river is so shallow at the mouth, that it can only be entered by barks. The town of *Tomaco* is small, and situated near the mouth of the river, being chiefly occupied by the Spaniards, who trade in this neighbourhood. From this place to that branch of the river St Jago where we were then at anchor is five leagues.

As the land here is low and full of creeks, we left the river on the 21st December, and crossed these small bays in our canoes. In our way we saw an Indian hut, whence we took the master and all his family, and rowing forwards, we came to Tomaco at midnight. We here seized all the inhabitants, among whom was one Don Diego de Pinas, a Spanish knight, whose ship was at anchor not far off to load with timber, and in which we found thirteen jars of good wine, but no other loading. An Indian canoe came to us, in which were three natives, who were straight and well-limbed, but of

[8] The lat. of Gallo is only 1° 57′ N. That assigned in the text would lead to the isle of Gorgona, in 2° 54′ N. but the description of our author suits much better with Gallo.—E.

[9] The island and point of Tumaco are placed in modern maps at the mouth of the Mira, off which are many islands, in lat. 1° 40′ N.

of low stature, having black hair, long visages, small eyes and noses, and dark complexions. Several of our men, who had gone seven or eight leagues up the river, returned on the 31st, bringing with them several ounces of gold, which they had found in a Spanish house, whence the inhabitants had fled.

On the 1st January, 1685, while going in our canoes from Tomaco to Gallo, we took a packet of letters in a Spanish boat bound from Panama to Lima, by which the president of Panama wrote to hasten the Plate fleet from Lima, as the armada from Spain had arrived in Porto Bello. This intelligence made us change our intention of proceeding to Lavelia, instead of which we now proposed to make for the *Pearl Islands*, not far from Panama, past which all ships bound from the south for Panama must necessarily pass. We accordingly sailed on the 7th, and next day took a vessel of ninety tons, laden with flour; and continuing our voyage with a gentle wind at S. we anchored on the 9th at the island of *Gorgona*, on its west side, in thirty-eight fathoms clean ground, two cables length from shore, in a sandy bay, the land round which is very low.

Gorgona is in lat. 2° 54′ N. twenty-five leagues from Gallo, and is remarkable for two high risings or hills called the Saddles. This island is two leagues long by one league broad, and is about four from the continent, having another small isle at its west end. It is full of tall trees, and is watered by many rivulets, having no animals except monkies, rabbits, and snakes. It is very subject to heavy rains, and the only observable difference in the seasons here is, that the rains are more moderate in summer. The sea around is so deep that there is no anchorage except at the west end, where the tide flows eight feet. Muscles and periwinkles are here in great plenty, and the monkies open the shells at low water. There are also abundance of pearl oysters, fixed to loose rocks by their beards, four, five, and six fathoms under water. These resemble our oysters, but are somewhat flatter and thinner in the shell, their flesh being slimy and not eatable, unless dried beforehand and afterwards boiled. Some shells contain twenty or thirty seed pearls, and others have one or two pearls of some size, lying at the head of the oyster, between the fish and the shell; but the inside of the shells have a brighter lustre than even the pearls.

The 13th January we pursued our voyage for *Isla del Rey*, being

being two men of war, two tenders, a fire-ship, and a prize vessel. With the trade-wind at S. we sailed along the continent, having low land near the sea, but seeing high mountains up the country. On the 16th we passed Cape *Corientes*, in lat. 5° 32′ N. being a high point with four small hillocks on the top, and at this place found a current setting to the north. The 21st we came in sight of Point *Garachina*, in lat. 7° 20′ N.[10] The land here being high and rocky, and without trees near the shore. Within the point there is plenty of oysters and muscles. About twelve leagues from this point are the islands called *Islas del Rey*, or the Pearl Islands.[11] Between these and the Point of Garachina there is a small flat barren island, called *Galleria*, near which we came to anchor.

The *King's* or *Pearl* Islands, are a considerable number of low woody isles, seven leagues from the nearest continent, and twelve leagues from Panama, stretching fourteen leagues from N.W. by N. to S.E. by S. Though named Pearl Islands in the maps, I could never see any pearls about them. The northermost of these isles, called *Pachea* or *Pacheque*, which is very small, is eleven or twelve leagues from Panama; the most southerly is called St Paul's Island, and the rest, though larger, have no names. Some of them are planted with bananas, plantains, and rice, by negroes belonging to the inhabitants of Panama. The channel between these islands and the continent is seven or eight leagues broad, of a moderate depth, and has good anchorage all the way. These isles lie very close together, yet have channels between them fit for boats.

At one end of *St Paul's* Island, there is a good careening place, in a deep channel inclosed by the land, into which the entrance is on the north side, where the tide rises ten feet. We brought our ships in on the 25th, being spring-tide, and having first cleaned our barks, we sent them on the 27th to cruise towards Panama. The fourth day after, they brought us in a prize coming from Lavelia, laden with maize or Indian corn, salted beef and fowls. *Lavelia* is a large town on the bank of a river which runs into the north side of the bay of Panama, and is seven leagues from the sea; and *Nata* is another

[10] Carachina Point is in lat. 8° 10′. N.

[11] The Isla del Rey is a considerable island in the bay of Panama, and the Archipelago de las Perlas are a multitude of very small islets N. by W. from that island.—E.

another town situated in a plain on a branch of the same river.[12] These two places supply Panama with beef, hogs, fowls, and maize. In the harbour where we careened, we found abundance of oysters, muscles, limpits, and clams, which last are a kind of oysters, which stick so close to the rocks that they must be opened where they grow, by those who would come at their meat. We also found here some pigeons and turtle-doves.

Having well careened our ships by the 14th February, and provided a stock of wood and water, we sailed on the 18th, and came to anchor in the great channel between the isles and the continent, in fifteen fathoms, on soft ooze, and cruised next day towards Panama, about which the shore seemed very beautiful, interspersed with a variety of hills and many small thickets. About a league from the continent there are several small isles, partly ornamented with scattered trees, and the *King's Isles* on the opposite side of the channel give a delightful prospect, from their various shapes and situations. The 18th we went towards Panama, and anchored directly opposite Old Panama, once a place of note, but mostly laid in ashes by Sir Henry Morgan, and not since rebuilt. New Panama is about four leagues from the old town, near the side of a river, being a very handsome city, on a spacious bay of the same name, into which many long navigable rivers discharge their waters, some of which have gold in their sands. The country about Panama affords a delightful prospect from the sea, having a great diversity of hills, vallies, groves, and plains. The houses are mostly of brick, and pretty lofty, some being handsomely built, especially that inhabited by the president; the churches, monasteries, and other public edifices, making the finest appearance of any place I have seen in the Spanish West Indies. It is fortified by a high stone wall, mounted by a considerable number of guns, which were formerly only on the land side, but have now been added to the side next the sea. The city has vast trade, being the staple or emporium for all goods to and from Peru and Chili; besides that, every three years, when the Spanish *armada* comes to Porto Bello, the *Plate fleet* comes here with the treasure belonging to the king

[12] From the circumstances in the text Lavelia seems to be the town now named San Francisco, near the head of the river Salado, which runs into the gulf Parita, on the *west* side of the bay of Panama.—E.

king and the merchants, whence it is carried on mules by land to Porto Bello, at which time, from the vast concourse of people, every thing here is enormously dear.

The Spanish armada, which comes every three years to the West Indies, arrives first at Carthagena, whence an express is dispatched by land to the viceroy at Lima, and two packets are also sent by sea, one for Lima, and the other for Mexico, which last I suppose goes by way of *Vera Cruz*. That for Lima goes first by land to Panama, and thence by sea to Lima. After remaining sixty days at Carthagena, the armada sails to Porto Bello, where it only remains thirty days to take in the royal treasure brought here from Panama, said to amount to twenty-four millions of dollars, besides treasure and goods belonging to the merchants. From Porto Bello the armada weighs always on the thirtieth day, but the admiral will sometimes stay a week longer at the mouth of the river, to oblige the merchants. It then returns to Carthagena, where it meets the king's money from that part of the country, as also a large Spanish galleon or patache, which, on the first arrival of the armada at Carthagena, had been dispatched along the coast to collect the royal treasure. The armada, after a set stay at Carthagena, sails for the Havannah, where a small squadron called the *flota* meets it from Vera Cruz, bringing the riches of Mexico, and the rich goods brought by the annual ship from Manilla. When all the ships are joined, they sail for Spain through the gulf of Florida.

Porto Bello is a very unhealthy place, on which account the merchants of Lima stay there as short time as possible. Panama is seated in a much better air, enjoying the sea-breeze every day from ten or eleven in the forenoon till eight or nine at night, when the land-breeze begins, and blows till next morning. Besides, on the land side Panama has an open champaign country, and is seldom troubled with fogs; neither is the rainy season, which continues from May till November, nearly so excessive as at Porto Bello, though severe enough in June, July, and August, in which season the merchants of Peru, who are accustomed to a constant serene air, without rains or fogs, are obliged to cut off their hair, to preserve them from fevers during their stay.

The 21st February, near the Perico islands opposite to Panama, we took another prize from Lavelia, laden with beeves, hogs, fowls, and salt. The 24th we went to the isle of

of *Taboga,* six leagues south of Panama. This island is three miles long and two broad, being very rocky and steep all round, except on the north side, where the shore has an easy slope. In the middle of the isle the soil is black and rich, where abundance of plantains and bananas are produced, and near the sea there are cocoa and *mammee* trees. These are large and straight in their stems, without knots, boughs, or branches, and sixty or seventy feet high. At the top there are many small branches set close together, bearing round fruit about the size of a large quince, covered with a grey rind, which is brittle before the fruit is ripe, but grows yellow when the fruit comes to maturity, and is then easily peeled off. The ripe fruit is also yellow, resembling a carrot in its flesh, and both smells and tastes well, having two rough flat kernels in the middle, about the size of large almonds. The S.W. side of this isle is covered with trees, affording abundant fuel, and the N. side has a fine stream of good water, which falls from the mountains into the sea. Near this there was formerly a pretty town with a handsome church, but it has been mostly destroyed by the privateers. There is good anchorage opposite this town a mile from the shore, in sixteen to eighteen fathoms on soft ooze. At the N.N.W. end is a small town called *Tabogilla,* and on the N.E. of this another small town or village without a name.

While at anchor near Tabogilla, we were in great danger from a pretended merchant, who brought a bark to us in the night, under pretence of being laden with merchandise to trade with us privately, but which was in reality a fire-ship fitted out for our destruction. But on her approach, some of our men hailed her to come to anchor, and even fired upon her, which so terrified the men that they got into their canoes, having first set her on fire, on which we cut our cables and got out of her way. This fire-ship was constructed and managed by one Bond, who formerly deserted from us to the Spaniards. While busied next morning in recovering our anchors, we discovered a whole fleet of canoes full of men, passing between Tabogilla and another isle. These proved to be French and English buccaneers, lately come from the North Sea across the isthmus of Darien, 200 of them being French and 80 English. These last were divided between our two ships, under Captains Davis and Swan; and the Frenchmen were put into our prize, named the Flower, under the command of Captain Gronet, their countryman, in

in return for which he offered commissions to Captains Davis and Swan, from the governor of Petite Goave, as it is the custom of the French privateers to carry with them blank commissions. Captain Davis accepted one, but Captain Swan had one already from the Duke of York.

Learning from these men that Captain Townley was coming across the isthmus of Darien with 180 Englishmen, we set sail on the 2d March for the gulf of *San Miguel* to meet Townley. This gulf is on the east side of the great Bay of Panama, in lat. 8° 15′ N. long. 79° 10′ W. thirty leagues S.E. from Panama, from whence the passage lies between Isola del Rey and the main. In this gulf many rivers discharge their waters. Its southern point is Cape *Carachina,* in lat. 8° 6′ N. and the northern, named Cape *Gardo,* is in lat. 8° 18′ N. The most noted rivers which discharge themselves into this gulf, are named *Santa Maria, Sambo,* and *Congo.* This last rises far within the country, and after being joined by many small streams on both sides of its course, falls into the north side of the gulf a league from Cape Gardo. It is deep and navigable for several leagues into the country, but not broad, and is neglected by the Spaniards, owing to its nearness to the river of Santa Maria, where they have gold mines. *Santa Maria* is the largest of the rivers in this gulf, being navigable for eight or nine leagues, as far as the tide flows, above which it divides into several branches fit only for canoes. In this river the tide of flood rises eighteen feet. About the year 1665, the Spaniards built the town of Santa Maria, near six leagues up this river,[13] to be near the gold mines. I have been told, that, besides the gold usually procured out of the ore and sand, they sometimes find lumps wedged between the fissures of rocks as large as hens eggs or larger. One of these was got by Mr Harris, who got here 120 pounds weight of gold, and in his lump there were several crevices full of earth and dust.

The Spaniards employ their slaves to dig these mines in the dry season; but when the rivers overflow, as the mines cannot be then worked, the Indians wash the gold out of the sands that are forced down from the mountains, and which gold

[13] In modern maps the river which seems to agree with this description of the Santa Maria, is called *Tlaca,* one of the principal branches of which is named Chuchunque. The gold mines of Cana and Balsa are placed on some of its branches, on which likewise there are several towns, as Nisperal, Fichichi, Pungana, Praya, and Balsa.—E.

gold they sell to the Spaniards, who gain as much in that way as they do by their mines. During the wet season, the Spaniards retire with their slaves to Panama. Near the mouth of the Santa Maria, the Spaniards have lately built another town, called *Scuchadores,*[14] in a more airy situation than Santa Maria. The land all about the gulf of San Miguel is low and fertile, and is covered with great numbers of large trees.

While crossing the isthmus, Gronet had seen Captain Townley and his crew at the town of Santa Maria, busied in making canoes in which to embark on the South Sea, the town being at that time abandoned by the Spaniards; and on the 3d March, when we were steering for the gulf of San Miguel, we met Captain Townley and his crew in two barks which they had taken, one laden with brandy, wine, and sugar, and the other with flour. As he wanted room for his men, he distributed the jars among our ships, in which the Spaniards transport their brandy, wine, and oil. These jars hold seven or eight gallons each. Being now at anchor among the King's islands, but our water growing scarce, we sailed for Cape Carachina, in hopes of providing ourselves with that necessary article, and anchored within that cape, in four fathoms on the 22d. We here found the tide to rise nine feet, and the flood to set N.N.E. the ebb running S.S.W. The natives brought us some refreshments, but as they did not in the least understand Spanish, we supposed they had no intercourse with the Spaniards.

Finding no water here, we sailed for *Porto Pinas,* about fifty miles to the S. by W. in lat. 7° 33′ N. which is so named from the vast numbers of pine-trees which grow in its neighbourhood. The country here rises by a gentle ascent from the sea to a considerable height, and is pretty woody near the shore. At the entrance into the harbour there are two small rocks, which render the passage narrow, and the harbour within is rather small, besides which it is exposed to the S.W. wind. We sent our boats into this harbour for water, which they could not procure, owing to a heavy sea near the shore; wherefore we again made sail for Cape Carachina, where we arrived on the 29th March. On our way we

[14] This probably is that named Nisperal in modern geography, the appellation in the text being the Spanish name, and the other the name given by the Indians.—E.

we took a canoe, in which were four Indians and a Mulatto, and as the last was found to have been in the fire-ship sent against us, he was hanged.

On the 11th of April we anchored among the King's isles, where we met with Captain Harris, who had come with some men by way of the river of Santa Maria. The 19th, 250 men were sent in canoes to the river *Cheapo*, to surprise the town of that name. The 21st we followed them to the island of *Chepillo*, directly opposite the mouth of the river Chepo, or Cheapo, in the bay of Panama, about seven leagues from the city of Panama, and one league from the continent. This is a pleasant island, about two miles long, and as much in breadth, low on the north side, but rising by a gentle ascent to the south. The soil is very good, and produces in the low grounds great store of fine fruits, as plantains, mammees, sapotas, sapadillos, avogato pears, star-apples, and others. Half a mile from shore there is good anchorage, opposite to which is a very good spring of fresh-water near the sea.

The *Sapadillo*-tree is altogether like a pear-tree, and the fruit resembles a bergamot pear, but somewhat longer. When first gathered it is hard and the juice clammy; but after keeping a few days it becomes juicy and sweet. It has two or three black kernels, resembling pomegranate seeds. The *Avogato*-tree is higher than our pear-trees, having a black smooth bark, and oval leaves. The fruit is about the size of a large lemon, green at first, but becomes yellow when ripe, having a yellowish pulp as soft as butter. After being three or four days gathered, the rind comes easily off, and as the fruit is insipid it is commonly eaten with sugar and lime-juice, being esteemed a great provocative by the Spaniards, who have therefore planted them in most of their settlements on the Atlantic. It has a stone within as large as a horse-plum. The *Sapota*-tree, or *Mammee-sapota*, is neither so large nor so tall as the wild mammee at Taboga, nor is the fruit so large or so round. The rind is smooth, and the pulp, which is pleasant and wholesome, is quite red, with a rough longish stone. There are also here some wild *mammee*-trees, which grow very tall and straight, and are fit for masts, but the fruit is not esteemed. The tree producing the *star-apples* resembles our quince-tree, but is much larger, and has abundance of broad oval leaves. The fruit is as big as a large apple, and is reckoned very good, but I never tasted it.

The

The river *Chepo*, or *Cheapo*, rises in the mountains near the north side of the isthmus, being inclosed between a northern and southern range, between which it makes its way to the S.W. after which it describes nearly a semicircle, and runs gently into the sea about seven leagues E. from Panama, in lat. 9° 3′ N. long. 79° 51′ W. Its mouth is very deep, and a quarter of a mile broad, but is so obstructed at the entrance by sands as only to be navigable by barks. About six leagues from the sea stands the city of *Cheapo*, on the *left* bank of the river.[15] This place stands in a champaign country, affording a very pleasant prospect, as it has various hills in the neighbourhood covered with wood, though most of the adjacent lands are pasture-grounds to the north of the river, but the country south from the river is covered with wood for many miles.

Our men returned from Cheapo on the 24th, having taken that town without opposition, but found nothing there worth mention. The 25th we were joined by Captain Harris, and arrived at Taboga on the 28th, when, finding ourselves nearly a thousand strong, we meditated an attack on Panama; but, being informed by our prisoners that the Spaniards there had received considerable reinforcements from Porto Bello, that design was laid aside. The 25th May we had intelligence from some prisoners that the Lima fleet was daily expected, whereupon we anchored in a narrow channel, a mile long and not above seven paces wide, formed by two or three small islands on the south side of the island of *Pacheque*. Our fleet now consisted of ten sail, only two of which were ships of war, that commanded by Captain Davis having 36 guns and 156, while Captain Swan's carried 16 guns and 140 men. The rest were only provided with small arms, and our whole force amounted to 960 men. We had also a fire-ship.

Hitherto we had the wind at N.N.E. with fair weather, but on the 28th of May the rainy season began. On that day, about 11 a. m. it began to clear up, and we discovered the Spanish fleet three leagues W.N.W. from the island of Pacheque, standing to the east, we being then at anchor a league S.E. from that isle, between it and the continent. We set

[15] In modern maps the town of Chepo is placed on the *right* bank of the river, as descending the stream, and only about five miles up the river.—E.

set sail about three p. m. bearing down upon the Spaniards right before the wind, while they kept close upon a wind to meet us. Night coming on, we only exchanged a few shots at that time. As soon as it began to be dark, the Spanish admiral shewed a light at his top, as a signal for his fleet to anchor. In half an hour this was taken down; but soon after a light appeared as before, which went to leewards, which we followed under sail, supposing it to be still the admiral; but this was a stratagem of the Spaniards to deceive us, being at the top-mast head of one of their barks, and effectually succeeded, as we found in the morning they had gained the weather-gage of us. They now bore down upon us under full sail, so that we were forced to make a running fight all next day, almost quite round the bay of Panama, and came at length to anchor over against the island of Pacheque. As Captain Townley was hard pressed by the Spaniards, he was forced to make a bold run through the before-mentioned narrow channel, between Pacheque and the three small islands; and Captain Harris was obliged to separate from us during the fight. Thus our long-projected design vanished into smoke.

According to the report of some prisoners taken afterwards, the Spanish fleet consisted of fourteen sail, besides *periagoes*, or large boats of twelve or fourteen oars each, and among these there were eight ships of good force, mounting from eight to forty-eight guns, with two fire-ships, and computed to contain 3000 men. In the morning of the 30th we saw the Spanish fleet at anchor, three leagues from us to leeward, and by ten a. m. they were under sail with an easy gale from the S. making the best of their way to Panama. In this affair we had but one man slain, but never knew the loss sustained by the Spaniards. Captain Gronet and his Frenchmen never joined us in this fight, laying the fault upon his men, wherefore he was ordered in a consultation to leave us; after which we resolved to sail for the islands of Quibo, or Cobaya, in quest of Captain Harris.

We sailed on the 1st June, 1685, with the wind at S.S.W. passing between Cape Carachina and *Islas del Rey*. The 10th we came in sight of *Moro de Puercos*, a high round hill on the coast of Lavelia, in lat. 7° 12′ N. round which the coast makes a turn northwards to the isles of Quibo. On this part of the coast there are many rivers and creeks, but not near so large as those on the east side of the bay of Panama.

 Near

Near the sea this western coast of the bay is partly hilly and partly low land, with many thick woods, but in the interior there are extensive savannahs or fruitful plains, well stored with cattle. Some of the rivers on this side produce gold, but not in such abundance as on the other side; and there are hardly any Spanish settlements on this side, except along the rivers leading to Lavelia and Nata, which are the only places I know of between Panama and *Puebla nova*. From Panama there is good travelling all over Mexico, through savannahs or plains; but towards Peru there is no passage by land beyond the river Chepo, by reason of thick woods and many rivers and mountains.

We arrived at the isle of *Quibo* on the 15th June, where we found Captain Harris. This isle is in lat. 7° 26′ N. and long. 82° 13′ W. It is near seven leagues long by four broad, being all low land, except at its N.E. end, on which side, and also to the east, there is excellent water. It abounds in many kinds of trees, among which are great numbers of deer and black monkeys, the flesh of which is reckoned very wholesome; and it has some guanas and snakes. A sand-bank runs out half a mile into the sea from the S.E. end of this island, and on its east side, a league to the north of this, there is a rock a mile from the shore, which is seen above water at last quarter of the ebb. In all other places there is safe anchorage a quarter of a mile from the shore, in six, eight, ten, and twelve fathoms, on clean sand and ooze. The isle of *Quicarra*, to the south of Quibo, is pretty large; and to the north of it is a small isle named Ranchina, which produces great plenty of certain trees called *Palma-Maria*. These are straight, tough, and of good length, and are consequently fit for masts, the grain of the wood having a gradual twist or spiral direction; but, notwithstanding the name, they have no resemblance to palms. To the N.E. of Quibo are the small islands of *Canales* and *Cantarras*, in the channels between which there is good anchorage. These islands have plenty of wood and water, and appear at a distance as if part of the continent; and as the island of Quibo is the most considerable, these isles are generally named collectively the Quibo islands.

Having failed in our designs at sea, it was agreed to try our fortune on land, and the city of Leon, near the coast of Nicaragua in Mexico, was pitched upon, as being nearest us. Being in want of canoes for landing our men, we cut down trees

trees to make as many as we had occasion for, and in the mean time 150 men were detached to take *Puebla nova*, a town on the continent, near the Quibo island,[16] in hopes of getting some provisions. They easily took that town, but got nothing there except an empty bark, and returned to us on the 26th June. Captain Knight came back to us on the 5th July, having been farther to the west, but meeting with no prize, he had gone south to the bay of Guayaquil, where he took two *barco-longas*, with wine, oil, brandy, sugar, soap, and other commodities. Knight learnt from his prisoners that certain merchant ships, designed to have accompanied the Spanish fleet to Panama, remained behind at Payta, which he might easily have taken if he had been provided with a stronger force.

Our canoes being all ready, we sailed from Quibo on the 20th July towards Realejo, a port a small way to the N.W. of Leon, being now 640 men, with eight ships, three tenders, and a fire-ship. Coasting along to the N.W. we passed the gulfs of Dulce and Nicoya, and the *Isla del Cano*, the land along the coast being low and covered with wood, but almost destitute of inhabitants. August 8th, in lat. 11° 20′ N. we got sight of *Volcano viejo*, or Old Volcano, the sea-mark for Realejo, bearing from us N.E. by N. when we made ready to land next day. Accordingly, we sent 520 men on the 9th in thirty-one canoes to attack the harbour of Realejo. The weather was fair and the wind favourable till two p. m. when a tempest arose, attended by thunder and lightning, which almost overwhelmed us in the sea. It subsided, however, in half an hour, as did the agitation of the waves; it being observable in these hot climates that the waves soon rise and soon fall. It became calm about seven p. m. but as we could not get ready to land that night before day, being then five leagues from shore, we remained nearly in the same place till next evening, that we might not be discovered.

About three next morning another tornado had nearly put an end to us and our enterprise, but it did not last long, and we entered the creek, on the S.E. side of the harbour, leading to Realejo in the night, but durst not proceed further till day-break. We then rowed deeper into the creek, which is very narrow, the land on both sides being very marshy and full

[16] The only place in modern geography resembling the name, and agreeing with the description in the text, is San Pablo on the S. coast of Veragua, in lat. 8° 9′ N. and long. 83° W. from Greenwich.—E.

full of mangrove trees, through among which it is impossible to pass, and beyond these, where the ground is firm, the Spaniards had cast up a small entrenchment. We rowed as fast as we could and landed 470 men, the remainder, among whom I was, being left to guard the canoes.

The city of Leon stands twenty miles up the country in a sandy plain, near a peaked burning mountain, called *El Rico*, or the Volcano of Leon, the way to that city from where our people landed being through a champaign country covered with long grass. Between the landing place and the city were several sugar works, and about midway a beautiful river, but fordable. Two miles before coming to the city there was an Indian town, whence a pleasant sandy road led to the city. The houses in Leon were large and built of stone, but low and roofed with tiles, having many gardens among them, with a cathedral and three other churches. It stands in an extensive sandy plain or savannah, which absorbs all the rain, and being entirely free from wood, it has free access to the breezes on all sides. These circumstances render it a healthy and pleasant place, but not of much commerce, all the wealth of its inhabitants consisting in cattle and sugar works.

Our people began their march for Leon at eight a. m. the van consisting of eighty of the briskest men, being led by Captain Townly. He was followed by Captain Swan with 100 men, and Captain Davis, assisted by Captain Knight, brought up the rear with 170 men.[17] Captain Townley, being two miles in advance of the rest, and having repulsed a body of seventy horse about four miles short of Leon, pushed forwards with his vanguard, and entered the city without farther resistance at three p. m. He was then opposed by 500 foot and 200 horse, first in a broad street, and afterwards in the great market-place; but the horse soon galloped off, and were followed by the foot, leaving the city to the mercy of our people. Captain Swan reached the city at four p. m. Davis about five, and Knight with the remainder at six. The Spaniards only killed one of our men, who was very old and had loitered behind, refusing to accept quarter, and took another named Smith. The governor sent word next day, offering to ransom the town; on which our officers demanded 30,000

[17] Only 350 men are here accounted for, though 470 are said to have marched on this enterprise, leaving a difference of 120 men: perhaps these made a separate corps under Knight, as he seems to have fallen considerably in the rear of Davis.—E.

30,000 pieces of eight, or Spanish dollars, together with provisions for 1000 men for four months, which terms being refused, our people set the city on fire on the 14th of August, and rejoined the canoes next morning. Smith was exchanged for a gentlewoman, and a gentleman who had been made prisoner was released, on promise to deliver 150 oxen for his ransom at Realejo, the place we intended next to attack.

In the afternoon of the 16th we came to the harbour of Realejo in our canoes, our ships having come there to anchor. The creek leading to Realejo extends north from the N. W. part of the harbour, being nearly two leagues from the island at the mouth of the harbour to the town. The first two-thirds of this distance the creek is broad, after which it closes into a deep narrow channel, lined on both sides by many cocoa-trees. A mile from the entrance the creek winds towards the west, and here the Spaniards had thrown up an entrenchment, fronting the entrance of the creek, and defended by 100 soldiers and twenty guns, having a boom of trees thrown across the creek, so that they might easily have beaten off 1000 men, but they wanted courage to defend their excellent post; for on our firing two guns they all ran away, leaving us at liberty to cut the boom. We then landed and marched to the town of Realejo, a fine borough about a mile from thence, seated in a plain on a small river. It had three churches and an hospital, but is seated among fens and marshes, which send forth a noisome scent, and render it very unhealthy. The country round has many sugar works and cattle pens, and great quantities of pitch, tar, and cordage are made by the people. It also abounds in melons, pine-apples, guavas, and prickly pears.

The shrub which produces the *guava* has long small boughs, with a white smooth bark, and leaves like our hazel. The fruit resembles a pear, with a thin rind, and has many hard seeds. It may be safely eaten while green, which is not the case with most other fruits in the East or West Indies. Before being ripe it is astringent, but is afterwards loosening. When ripe it is soft, yellow, and well tasted, and may either be baked like pears, or coddled like apples. There are several sorts, distinguished by their shape, taste, and colour, some being red and others yellow in the pulp. The *prickly-pear* grows on a shrub about five feet high, and is common in many parts of the West Indies, thriving best on sandy grounds near the sea. Each branch has two or three round fleshy

fleshy leaves, about the breadth of the hand, somewhat like those of the house-leek, edged all round with spines or sharp prickles an inch long. At the outer extremity of each leaf the fruit is produced, about the size of a large plum, small towards the leaf and thicker at the other end, where it opens like a medlar. The fruit, which is also covered by small prickles, is green at first, but becomes red as it ripens, having a red pulp of the consistence of a thick syrup, with small black seeds, pleasant and cooling to the taste. I have often observed, on eating twenty or more of these at a time, that the urine becomes as red as blood, but without producing any evil consequence.

We found nothing of value in Realejo, except 500 sacks of flour, with some pitch, tar, and cordage. We also received here the 150 oxen promised by the gentleman who was released at Leon; which, together with sugar, and other cattle we procured in the country, were very welcome and useful to us. We remained in Realejo from the 17th to the 24th of August, when we re-embarked. On the 25th Captains Davis and Swan agreed to separate, the former being inclined to return to the coast of Peru, and the latter to proceed farther to the north-west; and as I was curious to become better acquainted with the north-western parts of Mexico, I left Captain Davis and joined Captain Swan. Captain Townley joined us with his two barks, but Captains Harris and Knight went along with Swan. On the 27th Davis went out of the harbour with his ship, but we staid behind for some time, to provide ourselves with wood and water. By this time our men began to be much afflicted with fevers, which we attributed to the remains of a contagious distemper that lately raged at Realejo, as the men belonging to Captain Davis were similarly infected.

We sailed from Realejo on the 3d September, steering to the north-west along the coast, having tornadoes from the N.W. accompanied with much thunder and lightning, which obliged us to keep out to sea, so that we saw no land till the 14th, when we were in lat. 13° 51′ N. We then came in sight of the volcano of Guatimala. This presents a double peak like two sugar-loaves, between which fire and smoke sometimes burst forth, especially before bad weather. The city of Guatimala stands near the foot of this high mountain, eight leagues from the South Sea, and forty or fifty from

from the gulf of Amatique, at the bottom of the bay of Honduras.[18] This city is reputed to be rich, as the country around abounds in several commodities peculiar to it, especially four noted dyes, indigo, otta or anotto, cochineal, and silvestre.[19] Having in vain endeavoured to land on this part of the coast, we proceeded to the small isle of *Tangola*, a league from the continent, where we found good anchorage, with plenty of wood and water.

A league from thence is the port of *Guatalco*, in lat. 15° 52′ N. long. 96° 20′ W. one of the best in Mexico. On the east side of the entrance, and about a mile from it, there is a small isle near the shore, and on the west side a great hollow rock, open at top, through which the waves force a passage with a great noise to a great height even in the calmest weather, which affords an excellent mark for seamen. This port runs into the land about three miles in a N.W. direction, and is about one mile broad. The west side affords the securest anchorage, the other being exposed to S.W. winds, which are frequent on this coast. We landed here to the number of 140 men, of whom I was one, on the 8th September, and marched about fourteen miles to an Indian village, where we found nothing but *vanillas* drying in the sun. The *vanilla* grows on a small *vine*, or bindwood shrub, which winds about the stems of trees, producing a yellow flower, which changes to a pod of four or five inches long, about the the size of a tobacco-pipe stem. This is at first green, but becomes yellow when ripe, having black seeds. When gathered they are laid in the sun, which makes them soft and of a chesnut colour, when they are squeezed flat by the Indians. The Spaniards buy this commodity at a cheap rate from the Indians, and afterwards preserve it in oil.

The 10th we sent four of our canoes to wait for us at the port of *Angelos*, about ten miles W. from Guatalco, and on the 12th we sailed from Guatalco. The 23d we landed 100 men

[18] This description agrees with the situation of St Jago de Guatimala, in lat. 14° 26′ N. long. 91° 18′ W. which is about thirty statute miles from the South Sea. The modern city of Guatimala, twenty-five miles to the S.E. is only about sixteen miles from the sea, at the head of a bay of the same name.—E.

[19] This last is an inferior species of cochineal, gathered from the uncultivated opuntia, while the true cochineal is carefully attended to in regular plantations. Both are the bodies of certain insects, gathered by the Indians and dried for preservation, constituting the most valuable scarlet dye.—E.

men at Angelos, where they got salt beef, maize, salt, hogs, and poultry, but could bring little on board, being at a distance from the shore. Hearing of a stout ship lately arrived at Acapulco from Lima, and as Captain Townley was much in need of a better ship, it was agreed to endeavour to cut that ship out of the harbour. *Acapulco* is a town and harbour in lat. 16° 50′ N. long. 99° 44′ W. on the western coast of New Spain, and belonging to the city of Mexico, being the only place of commerce on this coast, and yet there are only three ships that come to it annually. Two of these go every year between this port and Manilla in Luconia, one of the Philippines, and the third goes once a year to and from Lima in Peru. This last comes to Acapulco about Christmas, laden with quicksilver, cacao, and dollars, and waits the arrival of the Manilla ships, from which she takes in a cargo of spices, calicos, muslins, and other goods of India and China, and then returns to Lima. This is only a vessel of moderate size; but the two Manilla ships are each of about 1000 tons burden.

These Manilla ships arrange their voyages in such a way that one or the other is always at Manilla. One of them sails from Acapulco about the beginning of April; and after sixty days passage across the Pacific Ocean, touches at Guam, one of the Ladrones, to procure refreshments. She remains here only three days, and pursues her voyage for Manilla, where she arrives in the month of June. The other ship, being ready laden at Manilla with India commodities, sets sail soon after for Acapulco. From Manilla she steers a course to the latitude of 36° or 40° N. before she can fall in with a wind to carry her to America, and falls in first with the coast of California, and then is sure of a wind to carry her down the coast to Acapulco. After making Cape Lucas, the S. point of California, she runs over to Cape *Corientes*, in lat. 20° 26′ N. whence she proceeds along the coast to *Selagua*, where the passengers for Mexico are landed, and then continues along the coast to Acapulco, where she usually arrives about Christmas.

This port of Acapulco is very safe and convenient, and of sufficient capacity to contain some hundred ships without danger. There is a low island across the entrance, stretching from E. to W. about a mile and a half long by a mile in breadth, having a deep channel at each end, through either of which ships may enter or go out, providing they go in with the sea-breeze, and out with the land-wind, which regularly blow

blow at stated times of the day and night. The channel at the west end of the isle is narrow, but so deep as to have no anchorage, and through this the Manilla ship comes in; but the Lima ship takes the other channel. The harbour runs eight miles into the land to the north, when it closes up and becomes narrow, after which it stretches a mile to the west. At the entrance of this channel, and on the N. W. side, close to the shore, stands the town of Acapulco, near which is a platform or battery with a good number of guns; and on the east side of the channel, opposite the town, there is a strong castle, having not less than forty pieces of large cannon, and the ships usually ride at the bottom of the harbour, under the guns of this castle.

Captain Townley went with 140 men in twelve canoes to endeavour to cut out the Lima ship; but finding her at anchor within 100 yards of both the castle and platform, found it impossible to effect his purpose, so that he was obliged to return much dissatisfied. We accordingly sailed on the 11th November along the coast to the N.W. between Acapulco and Petaplan, where we found every where good anchorage two miles from shore, but the surf beat with such violence on the coast that there was no safe landing. Near the sea the country was low, and abounding in trees, especially spreading palm-trees, some of which were twenty or thirty feet high in the stem, but of no great size. This part of the country was intermixed with many small hills, mostly barren, but the vallies seemed fertile. The hill of Petaplan, or Petatlan, sends out a round point into the sea, called Cape *Jequena*, in lat. 17° 27′ N. which appears from sea like an island, and a little farther west there is a knot of round hills, having an intervening bay, in which we anchored in eleven fathoms. We here landed 170 men, who marched fourteen miles into the country, when they reached a wretched Indian village, deserted by the inhabitants, so that we only found one mulatto-woman and four young children.

Proceeding on the 18th about two leagues farther to the N.W. we came to a pretty good harbour named *Chequetan*, having the convenience of a good fresh-water river and plenty of wood. On the 19th we landed ninety-five men, having the mulatto-woman for their guide, at *Estapa*,[20] a league west from

[20] Istapha is to the eastward of Petatlan, but Chequetan is not delineated in modern maps, neither are any rivers noticed for a great way either N.W. or S. E. from Petatlan.—E.

from Chequetan. The guide now conducted them through a pathless wood along a river, and coming to a farm-house in a plain, they found a caravan of sixty mules, laden with flour, chocolate, cheese, and earthenware, intended for Acapulco, and of which this woman had given them intelligence. All this they carried off, except the earthenware, and brought aboard in their canoes, together with some beeves they killed in the plain. Captain Swan went afterwards on shore, and killed other eighteen beeves, without any opposition. We found the country woody but fertile, and watered by many rivers and rivulets.

Sailing on the 21st to the N.W. the land appeared full of rugged hills, with frightful intervening vallies. On the 25th we passed a high hill having several peaks, in lat. 18° 8′ N. near which there is a town named *Cupan*,[21] but we could not find the way to it. The 26th, 200 men were sent to find out the way to *Colima*, said to be a rich place, but after rowing twenty leagues along shore they could not find any place fit for landing, and saw not the least sign of any inhabitants, so that they returned to the ships on the 28th. Soon after we got sight of the volcano of Colima, remarkable for its height, six leagues from the sea, in lat. 19° 5′ N. It shewed two peaks or summits, both of which always emit either fire or smoke. The valley at the foot of this mountain is said to be fertile and delightful, abounding in cacao, corn, and plantains, and is said to be ten or twelve leagues wide towards the sea, and to reach far into the country. It is watered by a deep river named Colima, but which is so obstructed by a sand-bank at its mouth, as not even to allow admission to canoes; but there is no landing on this part of the coast, owing to the impetuosity of the surf. The town of Colima is the chief place of this part of the country.

The 29th, 200 men were sent in canoes to attempt to land, and if possible to find a road to the town of *Selagua*, seated, as we were told by the Spaniards, at the N.W. end of the vale of Colima, but they were unable to land, owing to the violence of the waves. We came in sight of the port of *Selagua* on the 1st December. This is a bay in lat. 19° 8′ N. parted in the middle by a rocky point, so that it appears like two havens, in either of which there is safe anchorage in ten or twelve fathoms, though the western harbour is the best, and

[21] Probably Texupan, in lat. 18° 17′ N. is here meant.—E.

and has besides the advantage of a fresh-water rivulet. We saw a considerable number of armed Spaniards on the land, to whom we made a visit next morning with 200 men, but they soon fled. In the pursuit our people found a broad road, leading through a wooded and rocky country, which they followed for four leagues, but found not the least appearance of any inhabitants, and therefore turned back. On their return they took two straggling mulattoes, who said the broad road led to the city of *Oarrah*,[22] four long days journey into the country, and that these men came from that city to protect the Manilla ship, which was expected to set her passengers ashore at this place. The Spanish maps place a town called Selagua hereabouts, but we could not find any appearance of it.

We pursued our voyage on the 6th December towards Cape Corientes, in hopes of meeting the Manilla ship. The land on the coast was moderately high, sprinkled with many rugged points, and full of wood, having several apparently good ports between Selagua and Cape Corientes, but we did not touch at any of them. Cape Corientes, of which we came in sight on the 11th, in lat. 20° 28′ N. is pretty high, being very steep and rocky towards the sea, but flat on the top. I found its longitude from the Lizard in England, by our reckoning, 121° 41′ W.[23] As the Manilla ship is obliged to make this point on her voyage to Acapulco, we took up a station here with our four ships in such a manner that we judged she could hardly escape us; but as we were in want of provisions, fifty or sixty men were sent in a bark beyond the cape to endeavour to get some. They returned, however, on the 17th, not having been able to double the cape, but left forty-six men in four canoes, who intended to attempt to get beyond by rowing.

The 18th December we sailed to the isles of *Chametly*, eighteen leagues to the east of Cape Corientes. These are five small low and woody islands, surrounded with rocks, and lying in form of a half-moon a mile from the shore, having safe anchorage in the intermediate space. These isles are inhabited by fishers, who are servants to some of the inhabitants

[22] Guadalaxara, the latter part of which is pronounced *achara*, is probably here meant. It is 160 miles inland from the port of Selagua.—E.

[23] It is only in long. 105° 38′ W. from Greenwich; that in the text, from computation or dead reckoning, being considerably erroneous in excess. —E.

ants of *Purification*, a considerable town or city fourteen leagues up the country.[24] We anchored at these isles on the 20th, and here provided ourselves with wood and water, and caught great abundance of rock-fish. Next day sixty of our men were sent under Captain Townley to surprise an Indian village, seven or eight leagues to the N.W.

On the 24th the four canoes left by Captain Townley's bark returned to the ships. They had got beyond the cape by means of rowing to the valley of *Valderas*, or *Val d' Iris*, the valley of flags, at the bottom of a deep bay, inclosed between Cape Corientes on the S.E. and point *Pontique* on the N.W. In this delightful valley they landed thirty-seven men, who advanced three miles into the country, and were attacked by 150 Spaniards, horse and foot. Our men retreated into an adjoining wood, whence they kept up a heavy fire on the Spaniards, killing their leader and fourteen troopers, besides wounding a great many, while four of our men were slain and two wounded. Owing to this loss the Spaniards took to flight, and our people were enabled to re-embark. This valley is about three leagues broad, and is bounded towards the inland country by an easy ascent, affording a delightful prospect of extensive pastures well stored with cattle, interspersed with pleasant groves of guavas, orange-trees, and lime-trees. The sandy bay affords a safe landing, and has a fresh-water river, navigable by boats, but becomes brackish in the end of the dry season, which is in February, March, and April.

We continued cruizing off Cape Corientes till the 1st January, 1686, when we sailed for the valley of *Valderas*, proposing to provide ourselves with some beef, of which we were in great need. At night we anchored in sixty fathoms, a mile from shore. On the 7th we landed 240 men, fifty of whom were kept together in a body to watch the motions of the Spaniards, while the rest were employed in providing cattle. We killed and salted as much beef as would serve us for two months, and might have procured a great deal more if we had not run out of salt. By this time our hopes of meeting the Manilla ship were entirely vanished, as we concluded she had got past us to the S.E. while we were employed in procuring

24 Villa de la Purificacion is considerably to the S. E. of Cape Corientes, but the isles of Chametly are omitted in modern maps. Puerto de Navidad, in lat. 19° 20′ N. seems the haven belonging to Purificacion.—E.

curing provisions, which we afterwards learnt had been the case, by the information of several prisoners. The loss of this rich prize was chiefly owing to Captain Townley, who insisted on taking the Lima ship in the harbour of Acapulco, when we ought to have provided ourselves with beef and maize, as we might then have done, instead of being now forced to procure provisions at the critical time of her coming on the coast. We were likewise deceived by the hope of falling in with rich towns and mines on this coast, not then knowing that all the wealth of this country is in the interior. Seeing that we were now entirely disappointed in our hopes, we parted company, Captain Townley going back to the S.E. while we in Captain Swan's ship went to the west.

The 7th January we passed point Pontique in lat. 20° 38′ N. ten leagues from Cape Corientes, being the N.W. point of this bay of the valley of Valderas. A league beyond this point to the W. there are two little isles called the *Pontiques*, and beyond these to the north the shore is rugged for eighteen leagues. The 14th we came to anchor in a channel between the continent and a small white rocky isle, in lat. 21° 15′. The 20th we anchored a league short of the isles of *Chametly*, different from those formerly mentioned under the same name, being six small isles in lat. 23° 11′ N. three leagues from the continent.[25] One or two of these isles have some sandy creeks, and they produce a certain fruit called *penguins*. These are of two sorts, one red and the other yellow. The plant producing the latter is as thick in the stem as a man's arm, with leaves six inches long and an inch broad, edged with prickles. The fruit grows in clusters at the top of the stem, being round and as large as an egg, having a thick rind, inclosing a pulp full of black seeds, of a delightful taste. The *red penguin* grows directly out of the ground, without any stalk, sometimes sixty or seventy in a cluster, no bigger than onions, but the shape of nine-pins, the cluster being surrounded with prickly leaves eighteen inches or two feet long.

Captain Swan went with 100 men in canoes to the north, to find out the river *Culiacan*, supposed to be in lat. 24° N.[26] and

[25] In modern maps these are called the isles of *Mazatlan*, and are placed in lat. 23° 15′ N. The name given in the text appears taken from a town on this coast, called Charmela, in lat. 22° 50′ N. but improperly.—E.

[26] The mouth of the river of Culiacan is in 24° 45′ N. and the town of that name is about eighty-five or ninety statute miles up the river, supposed to have been an ancient seat of the Mexican nation, before their removal to the vale and lake of Mexico.—E.

and said to have a fair and rich town of the same name on its banks; but after rowing thirty leagues he could not find the river, neither was there any safe landing place on the coast. Seven leagues N.N.W. from the Chametla or Mazatlan isles, our men landed in a small lake or river, having a narrow entrance, called *Rio de Sal* by the Spaniards, in lat. 23° 30′ N.[27] They here procured some maize at an adjacent farm; and learnt at another landing place of an Indian town five leagues distant, to which they marched. Coming near the place we were encountered by a good number of Spaniards and Indians, who were soon beat off. On entering the place we only found two or three wounded Indians, who told us the town was named *Mazatlan*, and that there were two rich gold-mines at the distance of five leagues.

On the 2d February 80 men were landed in the river *Rosario*.[28] We came to a pretty little town of the same name, a considerable way up that river, where we were assured by some prisoners that the gold-mines were not above two leagues from thence; but as we had present occasion for provisions, we carried about ninety bushels of maize on board from this place, without searching for the mines. As this small supply was insufficient for our necessities, we resolved to return to the S.E. to the *Rio San Jago*,[29] where we anchored on the 11th. This is one of the most considerable rivers on the west coast of New Spain. The country having a good appearance, Captain Swan sent seventy men to look for a town. After rowing up and down for two days, they landed in a corn field, and, while busy in gathering maize, they seized an Indian, who told them of a town called *Santa Pecaque*, four leagues farther.

Returning to the ship with this intelligence, Captain Swan went with 140 men in eight canoes, and landed five leagues up the river, which was there about a pistol shot across with high banks. He marched from thence through fertile plains and woods for three or four hours, and on approaching St Pecaque the Spaniards evacuated the place, so that we entered

27 The Rio Rastla de Panuco, in 23° 45′ N. is certainly here meant.—E.

28 The mouth of this river is in lat. 23° N. about fifty miles S.E. from Cape Mazatlan, where Dampier seems to have been then at anchor among the Mazatlan isles.—E.

29 So called by Dampier from the town of St Jago on its banks. Its proper name is the *Rio Grande*, or river of Tololotlan. The mouth of this river forms a large bay, in lat. 21° 30′ N. in which is the considerable island of St Blas.—E.

tered unopposed. This town is situated in a spacious plain on the side of a wood, being neatly built, with a market-place in the middle, but not large, and has two churches. There are silver-mines five or six leagues from this town, the ore from which is carried on mules to Compostella to be refined. *Compostella*, the capital of this part of Mexico, is twenty-one leagues from *Pecaque*, being inhabited by seventy families of Spaniards, and by five or six hundred mulattoes and Indians. Finding great plenty of maize, sugar, salt, and salt fish at this place, Captain Swan divided his men into two parts, one of which kept possession of the place, while the other half were employed to carry these articles to the canoes, which was done turn and turn about, with the assistance of some horses. We continued this work for two days; but on the 19th Captain Swan learnt from a prisoner that 1000 men had marched from St Jago, a rich town three leagues from Pecaque on the river, for the purpose of attacking us. On this Captain Swan wanted our people to march altogether with what provisions we could carry; but they refused to obey him till all the provisions should be carried on board, and he was forced to allow half of them to go on with fifty-four loaded horses. They had not gone a mile from Pecaque when they were attacked by the Spaniards from an ambush, and were all slain on the spot. Captain Swan marched to their relief, but came too late, finding the whole party slain and stripped naked; yet the Spaniards never once attempted to engage him, having certainly paid dear for their victory.

Returning on board with the rest of his men, and what provisions had been carried off, Captain Swan resolved to sail for Cape Lucas in California, in hopes of trafficking with the Indians there and in the *lake* or gulf of California. We accordingly sailed on the 21st with the wind at N.W. and W.N.W. and anchored at the islands of *Santa Maria*, in eight fathoms on clean sand. There are three islands, usually called the *Three Marias*,[30] stretching fourteen leagues from S.E. to N.W. of moderate height, stony, barren, and uninhabited, in lat. 21° 30′ N. [long. 106° 15′ W.] from which Cape St Lucas in California is forty leagues W.N.W. and Cape Corientes twenty leagues E.S.E. We anchored off the east end of the middle island, which we called Prince George's

[30] In reality *four*, the fourth or most north-westerly, being named St Juanica.—E.

George's island. These islands produce some cedars, and we found near the sea a green prickly plant, with leaves like those of the *penguin* plant, and roots like those of the *sempervivum*, but much longer, the Indians of California subsisting mostly on these roots. We baked and eat some of these roots, which tasted like boiled burdock roots. I had been long afflicted with dropsy, and was here buried in the sand for half an hour, covered up to the neck, which brought on a profuse sweat, and I believe with good effect, for I began to recover soon after. We careened here; but as there is no fresh water to be had at this place in the dry season, we had to return to the valley of Valderas, but finding the river brackish we sailed three leagues nearer Cape Corientes, and anchored beside a small round isle four leagues north of that cape, and half a mile from the shore, opposite to a rivulet on the continent, where we filled our water casks.

Being now sufficiently convinced of our mistaken notion of the riches of this coast, founded on an erroneous idea that the commerce of this country was carried on by sea, whereas it is entirely conducted by land on mules, we now resolved to try our fortune in the East Indies. With this view we sailed from Cape Corientes on the 31st March, and next noon, being thirty leagues from the cape, clear of the land-winds, we had the wind at E.N.E. in which direction it continued till we were within forty leagues of Guam. In all this long passage across the Pacific, nearly in the lat. of 13° N. we saw neither fish nor fowl except once, when by my reckoning we were 5975 miles west from Cape Corientes in Mexico, and then we saw a vast number of *boobies*, supposed to come from some rocks not far off, which are laid down in some hydrographical charts, but we saw them not.

May 20th, at four p. m. being in lat. 12° 55′ N. and steering W. we discovered, to our great joy, the island of Guam, eight leagues off, having now only three days provisions left. *Guam* is one of the Ladrones, in lat. 13° 15′ N. and long. 216° 50′ W. consequently its meridional distance from Cape Corientes on the coast of Mexico is 111° 14′, or about 7730 English miles. It is twelve leagues long by four broad, extending north and south, and is defended by a small fort mounted by six guns, and a garrison of thirty men with a Spanish governor, for the convenience of the Manilla ships, which touch here for refreshments on their voyage from Acapulco to Manilla. The soil is tolerably fertile, producing rice,

rice, pine-apples, water and musk melons, oranges, limes, cocoa-nuts, and bread-fruit. This last grows on a tree as big as our apple-trees, with dark green leaves. The fruit is round and as large as a good penny-loaf,[31] growing on the boughs like apples. When ripe it turns yellow, with a soft and sweet pulp; but the natives pull it green, and bake it in an oven till the rind grows black. They scrape off the rind, and the inside is soft and white, like the crumb of new-baked bread, having neither seed nor stone; but it grows harsh if kept twenty-four hours. As this fruit is in season for eight months in the year, the natives use no other bread in all that time, and they told us there was plenty of it in all the other Ladrone islands.

On the 31st May we came to anchor near the middle of the west side of this isle, a mile from shore, as there is no anchoring on its east side on account of the trade-winds, which force the waves with great violence against that side. The natives are of a copper-colour, strong-limbed, with long black hair, small eyes, high noses, thick lips, white teeth, and stern countenances, yet were very affable to us. They are very ingenious in building a certain kind of boats, called *proas*, used all over the East Indies. These are about twenty-six or twenty-eight feet long, and five or six feet high from the keel, which is made of the trunk of a tree like a canoe, sharp at both ends. They manage these boats with a paddle instead of a rudder, and use a square sail, and they sail with incredible swiftness, twenty or even twenty-four miles in an hour. One side of these boats is quite flat and upright like a wall from end to end, but the other side is rounded and full-bellied like other vessels. Along this side, parallel with the boat, at the distance of six or seven feet, a log of light wood, a foot and a half wide, and sharp at both ends, is fastened by means of two bamboos eight or ten feet long, projecting from each end of the main boat, and this log prevents the boat from oversetting. The English call this an out-lier, or out-rigger, and the Dutch *Oytlager*. The air of this island is accounted exceedingly healthy, except in the wet season between June and October. The Indians inhabit small villages on the west side of this island near the shore, and have priests among them to instruct them in the Christian religion.

[31] This vague description may now safely be changed to the size of a three-penny, or even four-penny loaf.—E.

religion. By means of a civil letter from Captain Swan to the Spanish governor, accompanied by some presents, we obtained a good supply of hogs, cocoa-nuts, rice, biscuits, and other refreshments, together with fifty pounds of Manilla tobacco.

Learning from one of the friars that the island of *Mindanao*, inhabited by Mahometans, abounded in provisions, we set sail from Guam on the 2d June with a strong E. wind, and arrived on the 21st at the Isle of St John, one of the *Philippines*. These are a range of large islands reaching from about the latitude of 5° to about 19° N. and from long. 120° to 126° 30′ E. The principal island of the group is *Luzon*, or Luçonia, in which Magellan was slain by a poisoned arrow, and which is now entirely subject to the Spaniards. Their capital city of Manilla is in this island, being a large town and sea-port, seated at the south-west end, opposite to the island of Mindora, and is a place of great strength and much trade, especially occasioned by the Acapulco ships, which procure here vast quantities of India commodities, brought hither by the Chinese and Portuguese, and sometimes also by stealth by the English from fort St George or Madras; for the Spaniards allow of no regular trade here to the English and Dutch, lest they should discover their weakness, and the riches of these islands, which abound in gold. To the south of Luzon there are twelve or fourteen large islands, besides a great number of small isles, all inhabited by, or subject to, the Spaniards. But the two most southerly, Mindanao and St John, are not subjected by the Spaniards.

The Island of St John, or *San Juan*, is about the lat. of 9° N. on the east side of Mindanao, and about four leagues from that island, being about thirty-eight leagues in length from N.N.W. to S.S.E. and about twenty-four leagues broad in the middle, having a very rich and fertile soil. *Mindanao*, next to Luzon, is the largest of the Philippines, being sixty leagues long by forty or fifty leagues broad. Its southern end is in lat. 5° 30′ N. the N.W. extremity reaching to 9° 40′ N. The soil is generally fertile, and its stony hills produce many kinds of trees, most of which are unknown to Europeans. The vallies are supplied with brooks and rivulets, and stored with various sorts of ever-green trees, and with rice, water-melons, plantains, bananas, guavas, nutmegs, cloves, betel-nuts, *durians*, *jacks*, or *jackas*, cocoa-nuts, oranges, &c.; but, above all, by a species of tree called *libby* by the natives, which

which produces sago, and grows in groves several miles in length. The poorer people feed on sago instead of bread for several months of the year. This tree resembles the cabbage-tree, having a strong bark and hard wood, the heart of which is full of a white pith, like that of the elder. They cut down the tree and split it open, taking out the pith, which they stamp or beat well in a mortar, after which, putting it into a cloth, and pouring in water, they stir it well, till the water carries all the farinaceous substance through the cloth into a trough. After the farinaceous matter has settled to the bottom, the water is poured off, and the sago is baked into cakes, which they use as bread. The sago, which is carried from hence to other parts of the East Indies, is dried into small grains, and is used with milk of almonds as a remedy against fluxes, being of an astringent quality.

The other fruits of this island, being well known or described by various authors, need not be here mentioned. The nutmegs here are very large and good, but the natives do not care for propagating them, being afraid lest the Dutch, who monopolize the spice islands, should be induced to pay them a hostile visit. This island also produces abundance of animals, both wild and tame, as horses, cows, buffaloes, goats, wild hogs, deer, monkeys, and others; also guanas, lizards, snakes, scorpions, and centipeds. These last are not thicker than a goose-quill, but five inches long, and they sting fiercer even than scorpions. Of tame fowl, they have only ducks and hens; but have plenty of wild birds, as pigeons, parrots, parrakeets, turtle-doves, bats as large as our kites, and an infinite number and variety of small birds. Their wild hogs feed in the woods in prodigious herds, and have thick knobs growing over their eyes. There are mountains in the interior of this island, which afford considerable quantities of gold. Their chief fish are bonitos, snooks, cavallies, breams, and mullets; and they have abundance of sea-tortoises; and the island has many harbours, creeks, and rivers.

Considering the situation of this island, so near the Line, its climate is by no means excessively hot, especially near the sea, where the sea-breeze cools the air by day and the land-breeze at night. The wind blows from the east between October and May, and then blows from the west till October. The west wind produces the wet season, which is heaviest in July and August, and, gradually lessening in September, ceases in October, when the east wind brings fair weather, which

which lasts till May. The inhabitants of this island, though all resembling each other in colour and stature, and all Mahometans, differ considerably in language and government. The mountaineers, or *Hillanoons*, who inhabit the interior, and are masters of the gold-mines, are also rich in bees-wax, both of which they exchange with the *Mindanayans* on the coast for foreign commodities. The *Sologus* inhabit the N.W. end of the island, and traffic with the inhabitants of Manilla and some other adjacent islands, but not with the Mindanayans. The *Alfoores* were formerly under the same government with the Mindanayans, but were separated from them by falling to the share of the younger children of the sultan of Mindanao, who has of late laid claim to their allegiance.

The Mindanayans, properly so called, are of low stature, with small limbs, little heads, straight bodies, small eyes, short noses, wide mouths, thin red lips, and sound black teeth, having black lank hair, and tawny complexions, but rather brighter than other Indians. They are ingenious and nimble, much addicted to indolence, obliging to strangers, but implacable when once disobliged. They wear turbans on their heads, formed of a cloth tied once round, the ends of which hang down, and are ornamented with lace or fringe. They also wear breeches, over which they have a kind of frocks, but have neither shoes nor stockings. The women tie their long black hair in a knot, which hangs down behind, being smaller featured than the men, with very small feet. Their garments consist of a piece of cloth sewed together at both ends, forming a kind of petticoat, with a frock reaching a little below the waist. They covet the acquaintance of white men, and are very free with them, as far as they have liberty. When any strangers arrive at the city of Mindanao, the men come aboard and invite them to their houses, where they immediately ask if any of them wish to have a *pagally*, or female friend, which they must accept, and return the favour by some small present, which is repeated from time to time, in return for which they eat, drink, and sleep, in their friend's house.

The capital is named Mindanao, like the island, being on the south-west side, two miles from the sea, on the bank of a small river, in lat. 7° N. The houses are built on posts, fourteen to twenty feet high, consisting only of one floor, but divided in many rooms by partitions. The house or palace of the sultan rests on 150 great posts, being much higher than any

any of the others, and had great broad stairs leading up to it from the ground. In the hall there were twenty pieces of iron cannon upon field carriages, and the general and other great men have also some cannon in their houses. The floors are generally well covered with mats, and they have no chairs, but usually sit cross-legged. Their ordinary food is rice, sago, and some small fish; but the better people use buffaloe beef, and fowl, with a great deal of rice, every one using their fingers, as they have no spoons. The inhabitants of the city of Mindanao speak both the Mindanayan and Malay languages, and their prayers are in Arabic, in which also they retain some Turkish words. Some of the old people of both sexes can speak Spanish, as the Spaniards had formerly several forts in the island, and had assuredly reduced the whole if they had not been afraid of an attack from the Chinese at Manilla, on which account they withdrew their troops from Mindanao, when the father of the present sultan laid hold of the opportunity to gain possession of their forts, and to expel them from the island. At present they are most in fear of the Dutch, for which reason they have often invited the English to make a settlement among them, believing them not so ready to encroach as either of the other nations.

The chief trades in this city are goldsmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, and shipwrights, for they build good ships both for war and trade. Their chief commodities for export are gold, bees-wax, and tobacco; the two first being purchased from the mountaineers, and the last grows in all parts of the island in great plenty. They exchange these commodities for calicoes, muslins, and China silks. The Mindanao tobacco is reckoned as good as that of Manilla, and yet ten or twelve pounds of it may be bought for a rial, or the eighth part of a dollar. The natives are generally afflicted with a dry itchy scurf all over their bodies, and by scratching, the skin peels off in small white flakes, like the scales of small fish, leaving broad white spots all over their bodies; but they did not seem to make any great account of this disease, which is not infectious. They are also troubled with small-pox; but their most common diseases are fevers, agues, fluxes, and violent griping pains in their bowels. They have many wives, but I could not learn their marriage ceremonies.

They are governed by a sultan, who has no great revenue, yet is so absolute that he even commands the private purse of every one at his pleasure. The reigning sultan was between

tween fifty and sixty years old, and had twenty-nine concubines besides his wife or sultana. When he goes abroad he is carried in a couch on the shoulders of four men, and is attended by a guard of eight or ten men. His brother, named Rajah Laut, a shrewd person of good conversation, is both chief minister and general, and both speaks and writes Spanish very readily. In war they use swords and lances, and every one, from the highest to the lowest, constantly wears a *criss* or dagger, much like a bayonet. They never fight any pitched battles, but construct small wooden forts defended by guns, whence the adverse parties endeavour to surprise each other in small parties, and never give or take quarter.

We came first to anchor on the N.E. side of the island, but learning from the natives that the city of Mindanao was on the W. side, we again set sail and anchored on the 4th July on the S.W. side of a very deep bay in fifteen fathoms, the land within the bay on the E. side being very high and woody, but watered by several rivers. On its W. side, bordering on the sea, there were large plains covered with long grass, on which were vast herds of deer, of which we killed as many as we thought fit. We remained here till the 12th, when we again set sail, and arrived on the 18th at the entrance of the river of Mindanao, in lat. 7° N. and long. 124° 35′ E. from Greenwich.[32] We here anchored in fifteen fathoms on clean hard sand, two miles from the shore. Soon afterwards Rajah Laut came on board, accompanied by one of the sultan's sons, and asked in Spanish, Who we were? Being told we were English, he asked if we came to settle among them, of which they had formerly some promise, and were now in hopes of its being effected, to serve to protect them against the Dutch, whom they greatly dreaded. Had we properly considered the matter, it might have been much for our advantage, Mindanao being conveniently situated between the Spice islands and the Philippines, and besides the three islands of *Meangis*,[33] only about twenty leagues from hence, abound with spice and cloves. We were also well fitted for such a settlement, having among our company all manner of artificers, as carpenters, bricklayers, shoemakers, tailors,

[32] In Harris, this longitude is made 23° 12′ W. from the Lizard by some strange error, being 235° 25′ W. from Greenwich.—E.

[33] It does not appear what islands these were, unless perhaps the Silibabo islands, about half way between Mindanao and the northern end of Gilolo, but considerably farther distant than is stated in the text.—E.

tailors, and the like, as also abundance of tools, arms, cannon, and sufficient ammunition to begin with; and, notwithstanding the great distance from England, we might easily have had supplies from thence, providing ships set out the latter end of August, proceeding round Cape Horn, and so directly across the Pacific for Mindanao, or else coasting along the western shore of America as far as was necessary, and then stretching across to have the advantage of the trade-wind. By this way the voyage might be accomplished in six or seven months, which would at least require eight or nine by the Cape of Good Hope.

Rajah Laut invited Captain Swan ashore, and promised to furnish what provisions we wanted, and desired him in the mean time to secure our ship within the river, for fear of the approaching westerly monsoon, which Captain Swan agreed to after some deliberation. The river being narrow, and having not above eleven feet water on the bar in spring-tides, we had much ado to get our ship a quarter of a mile above its mouth, where we moored head and stern in a hole, so that she lay always afloat. The city of Mindanao is a mile in length, but not very broad, stretching along the right bank of the river as you go up, though there are some houses also on the opposite side. The inhabitants frequently came aboard of our ship, and invited our men to their houses, where they were kindly entertained after their manner with tobacco and betel, and such of them as had money, or other articles of value, did not want their *pagalies*, or female friends. Captain Swan was entertained daily by Rajah Laut, and those of our men who had no money had boiled rice, with scraps of fowl and buffalo beef given them. Yet, after all these outward shews of friendship, we soon after began to discover that Rajah Laut had sinister intentions. The sheathing on our ship's bottom being much eaten by worms, we began in November to remove the old sheathing, to see whether the main plank remained sound; on seeing which, Rajah Laut shook his head, saying he had never seen a ship with two bottoms. Besides, he did not perform his promise of providing us with beef, pretending he could not get any; and he borrowed a considerable sum in gold from Captain Swan, which he never repaid.

These circumstances at length induced most of our men to think of leaving Mindanao, especially those who had not much money; and as our ship was new sheathed and tallow-

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ed on the 10th December, they began to urge our commander to depart in continuation of our voyage. Accordingly, Captain Swan appointed the 13th January, 1687, for all our company to be on board and ready to sail; but many being unwilling to depart so soon, having dispersed about the country at the instigation of Rajah Laut, and even Captain Swan not being very ready to come aboard, by reason of some insubordination among the men, they deposed him from the command, and chose Captain Teat in his room. After this we weighed in the morning of the 13th January, and sailed out of the river, leaving Captain Swan and forty-four more of the men on shore, besides sixteen others we had buried there.

We coasted along the south side of the island to the west, and passed next day in sight of *Chambungo*,[34] another town in this island, thirty leagues west from the river of Mindanao, and said to have a good harbour. On the 10th February we coasted along the west side of the Philippine islands, and while passing Panga,[35] a large island inhabited by the Spaniards, we saw many fires, which we supposed were intended to give notice of our approach, it being rare to see a ship on this coast. The 18th we anchored in ten fathoms at the N.W. end of the island of *Mindora*. This is a large island, the middle of which is in lat. 12° 45′ N. its length from N.W. to S.E. being forty leagues. While here, a canoe with four Indians came from Manilla, who told us that the harbour of Manilla was seldom without twenty or thirty vessels, Chinese, Portuguese, and Spaniards, and if we had a mind to trade clandestinely, they would deliver letters from us to certain merchants there.

We sailed again on the 21st, and came on the 23d to the S.E. end of Luçonia, where we took two Spanish barks from *Pagassanam*,[36] a small town on the N.E. part of this island, having goods on board for the Acapulco ship. This great island of Luçonia extends in length through six degrees of latitude, from 12° 30′ to 18° 40′ both N. and is surrounded by many small isles, especially at its north end, Mindora being the chief of these isles, which communicates its

[34] Probably Sambuang, at the western extremity of Mindanao, in lat. 6° 52′ N. long. 122° 20′ E. from Greenwich.—E.

[35] Pany, or Panai.—E.

[36] Perhaps the gulf on Pangasian is here meant, on the E. side of Luzon, in lat. 16° N.

its name to the straits which run between it and the main island of Luçonia. The surface of this large island is partly composed of large pasture plains, and partly of mountains, the latter of which afford some gold; and the plains, or savannahs, are stored with buffaloes, bullocks, horses, sheep, goats, and hogs. The inhabitants are Indians, who live in little towns, under the Spanish jurisdiction, and are instructed in the Romish religion by Spanish priests.

Manilla is the chief city, or rather the only one, in the island, seated at the foot of a ridge of high hills, fronting the harbour, near the S.W. point of the island, in lat. 14° 38′ N. This city is defended by a strong wall, and is composed of well-built spacious houses, covered with pan-tiles, the streets being broad and regular, with a large market-place in the middle, and has many fair churches and convents. The harbour is large; and, besides the two great Acapulco ships, contains abundance of small vessels belonging to the place, besides usually thirty or forty stout Chinese junks; and the Portuguese also have liberty to trade to this place. Many Chinese merchants also reside constantly in this city. A league from the city, nearer the sea, there is a strong fortress to defend the harbour, where the great ships lie at anchor. Most of this account I received from Mr Coppinger, our surgeon, who had formerly been thither, sailing from the Coromandel coast.

The time of the year being now too far spent for our purpose, we resolved to sail for Pulo Condore, a knot of small islands on the coast of Cambodia, and to return in May to lie in wait for the Acapulco ship. We accordingly made sail from the island of Luçonia on the 26th of February; and coming into the lat. of 14° N. we steered our course W. for Pulo Condore,[37] and in our way got sight of the south end of the *Pracel* shoals, being three small isles, or large spots of sand, just above water, only a mile from us. We came in sight of Pulo Condore on the 13th March, and anchored next day on the north side of that island, in ten fathoms, on clean hard sand, two miles from the shore.

Pulo Condore is the chief of a group of isles, and the only one of them that is inhabited, in lat. 8° 44′ N. long. 106° 5′ E. forty leagues S. by E. from the mouth of the river of Cambodia,

[37] This course ought rather to have been called W.S.W. as Pulo Condore is lat. 8° 40′ N.

Cambodia, otherwise called the *Japanese* river. Two of these isles are tolerably high and large, and the rest very small. The principal isle, off which we anchored, is five leagues long from E. to W. and three leagues broad, but in some places not a mile. The other large isle is three miles long from N. to S. and between these, at the west end of the largest, there is a convenient harbour, the entrance being on the north, where the two isles are a mile asunder. On the largest isle there grows a tall tree, three or four feet diameter, which the inhabitants cut horizontally half through, a foot from the ground, after which they cut out the upper part in a slope, till it meets the transverse cut, whence a liquor distils into a hollow made in the semicircular shelf, or stump, which, after being boiled, becomes good tar, and if boiled still more, becomes perfect pitch, both of these answering well for marine use. Such a tree produces two quarts of this juice daily for a month, after which it dries up, but recovers again.

There are mango trees in this island, the fruit of which the inhabitants pickle with salt, vinegar, and a little garlic, while green. On straight trees of a foot diameter, grapes, both red and white, and of a pleasant taste, much like those of Europe, grow in clusters about the body of the tree, like the cocoas. This isle also abounds in wild nutmeg-trees, which resemble our walnut-trees, and the fruit grows among the boughs, in the same manner as walnuts. This fruit resembles the true nutmeg, but smaller, and has neither smell nor taste. Besides hogs, guanas, and lizards, these islands have various birds, as parrots, parakeets, turtle-doves, and wild poultry. The sea affords limpits, muscles, and tortoises. These isles have many brooks of fresh water running into the sea for ten months of the year; and they are very conveniently situated for trade with Japan, China, Manilla, Tonquin, Cochin-china, and other places.

The inhabitants are originally from Cochin-china, being of a middle stature and well shaped, but of much darker colour than the natives of Mindanao, having lank black hair, small black eyes, and small noses, yet tolerably high, with small mouths, thin lips, and white teeth. They are civil, but very poor, their only employment being to collect tar, and to prepare a little oil from tortoises, both of which they export to Cochin-china. They offer their women to strangers for a small matter; a custom universal in Pegu, Siam, Cochin-

chin-China, Cambadia, Tonquin, and India, as also on the coast of Guinea. They are pagans, worshipping chiefly the elephant and the horse, besides images of birds and fishes, but I saw none resembling the human shape.

Having careened our ship, and laid in a supply of fresh water, we sailed from Pulo Condore on the 21st of April, steering W. by S. for the bay of Siam, and on the 23d came to the isle of *Ubi*, off the S. W. cape of Cambadia, forty leagues W. of Condore. This isle is seven or eight leagues in circuit, and is higher land than any of the Condore isles. It has good water on the north side, where there is also good anchorage, but the best anchorage is on the W. side, opposite a small bay. On the 24th we entered the bay of Siam, which is very deep, and went among the islands at the bottom of the bay, in one of which we found a small village inhabited by fishermen, but no fish, so we turned back, and did not return to the isle of *Ubi* till the 13th, and were detained there by storms till the 21st, when we sailed for Condore, where we anchored on the 24th. Here five or six of our men, going on board a Malay vessel, were stabbed by the crew. Having provided our ship with wood and water, we sailed from Condore on the 4th June, intending to proceed for Manilla; but, by contrary winds, were forced to steer for *Pratas*, a small low island inclosed with rocks, in lat. 21° N. between Canton and Manilla; and the east winds continuing, were obliged to approach the coast of China, where we anchored on the 25th June, at the east end of the island of St John, on the coast of Quan-tong, or Canton, in China, in lat. 22° 30′ N.[38] They have here great plenty of rice, with hogs, buffaloes, goats, and some oxen. The inhabitants were Chinese, and were consequently, at this time, under the dominion of the Tartars.

In this island we found a small town in marshy ground, the houses of which were small, mean, and ill-furnished, but built on posts, the inhabitants principally subsisting by the cultivation of rice. While we lay here at anchor, a Chinese junk rode beside us, which was flat both at the head and stern, having many little huts, three feet high, on her deck, thatched

[38] This Island of St John is probably that named Sancianor, or Tchang-te-huen, in lat. 21° 33′ N. long. 112° 25′ E. to the S.W. of the bay of Canton. The latitude in the text would lead deep among the islands of that bay, which does not appear to have been the case.—E.

thatched with palmito leaves. Her cabin was large, having an altar, on which which was a lamp continually burning. The hold was divided into several compartments, the bulkheads between which were so tight, that if a leak should spring in any of these divisions, the goods in the others would receive no damage. Every merchant has his own room, or division, in the hold, in which he stows his own goods, sometimes lodging along with them. These junks have only two masts, a main and fore, the latter having a square-sail and yard, and the former a sail that is narrow aloft, like a sloop's main-sail. In fine weather they have also a top-sail, which, in foul weather, they lower to the deck, yard and all. The main-mast of one of their largest junks is equal in size to that of our third-rate men of war, but all of one piece, not built.

Fearing the approach of a storm, and wanting sea-room, we weighed on the 3d June, and stood out to sea; but next day we were assailed by the most violent tempest at N. E. I ever saw, which lasted at intervals for three days, when the weather became quite serene. We then refitted our ship, but our men were so terrified by the last storm, and dreading the approach of full moon, that we resolved to steer for the *Pescadores*, or *Fisher Isles*, in lat. 23° 40′ N. off the western side of *Tai-ouan*, or Formosa. This is a numerous group of islands in the Straits of Formosa, having a good harbour between the two eastermost; and on the west side of the most easterly there is a large town with a fort, in which was a garrison of 300 Tartars. The houses in this town were low, yet neatly built; and on the other island, on the west side of the harbour, there was another small town near the sea, inhabited by Chinese. Most of the islands in this group have some Chinese inhabitants. We were very civilly treated by the Tartar governor, who sent us some presents, and among the rest a heifer, the beef of which was excellent; but would not allow us to trade, or even to land on the isle.

We sailed thence on the 29th July, passing the S.W. end of Formosa, a large island reaching from lat. 22° to 25° 18′ both N. and in long. 121° E. It was formerly well inhabited by the Chinese, and frequented by the English; but the Tartars have since spoiled the harbour, lest the Chinese should fortify themselves there. On the 6th August we came to anchor on the east side of the northermost of the *Five Islands*, or *Bashees*, in fifteen fathoms. These islands are from

from the latitude of 20° 26′ to 21° 13′ both N. and long. 121° 50′ E. Contrary to our expectations, we found three or four large towns on the island at which we anchored. The westmost of these islands, which the Dutch among us named *Orange* isle, is the largest, being seven or eight leagues from N. to S. and two from E. to W. There are two other large islands to the S. of this; the northern of which we named *Grafton* isle, which is four leagues from N. to S. and a league and a half from E. to W. The other, and most southerly, we named *Monmouth* isle, being three leagues from N. to S. and one from E. to W. Two other isles, lying E. and W. between Monmouth isle and the S. end of Orange isle, we called *Bashee* isle, from a certain liquor we drank there, and *Goat* isle.

Orange isle is the largest, but barren, rocky, and uninhabited, and has no anchorage on its coasts. *Monmouth* and *Grafton* isles are both hilly, but well inhabited. *Goat* isle and *Bashee* isle are flat, the former having a town. The hills in all these isles are rocky; but the intermediate vallies are fertile in grass, plantains, bananas, pine-apples, pompions, sugar-canes, potatoes, and some cotton, and are well supplied with brooks of fresh water. They are also well stored with goats and hogs, but have hardly any fowls, either wild or tame. The natives are short and thick, with round faces and thick eye-brows, with hazel-coloured eyes, rather small, yet larger than those of the Chinese. Their noses are short and low; their mouths and lips middle-sized, with white teeth; and their hair is thick, black, and lank, which they cut short. Their complexion is of a dark copper colour, and they go all bare-headed, having for the most part no clothes, except a clout about the middle, though some have jackets of plantain leaves, as rough as a bear-skin. The women have a short petticoat of coarse calico, reaching a little below the knees, and both sexes wear ear-rings of a yellow metal dug from their mountains, having the weight and colour of gold, but somewhat paler. Whether it be in reality gold or not, I cannot say, but it looked of a fine colour at first, which afterwards faded, which made us suspect it, and we therefore bought very little. We observed that the natives smeared it with a red earth, and then made it red-hot in a quick fire, which restored its former colour.

The houses of the natives are small, and hardly five feet high, collected into villages on the sides of rocky hills, and built

built in three or four rows, one above the other. These rocky precipices are framed by nature into different ledges, or deep steps of stairs as it were, on each of which they build a row of houses, ascending from one row to another by means of ladders in the middle of each row, and when these are removed they are inaccessible. They live mostly by fishing, and are very expert in building boats, much like our Deal yawls. They have also larger vessels, rowed by twelve or fourteen oars, two men to each bank. They never kill any goats themselves, but feed on the guts and skins, which last they broil after singing off the hair.[39] They also make a dish of locusts, which come at certain seasons to devour their potatoes; on which occasions they catch these insects in nets, and broil or bake them in earthen pans, when they are tolerable eating. Their ordinary drink is water; but they make also a kind of liquor of the juice of sugar-canes, boiled up with black-berries, allowed afterwards to ferment four or five days in jars. It then settles and becomes clear, when it affords a strong and pleasant liquor, which they call *bashee*, resembling our English beer both in taste and colour. I can give no account of their language, as it has no affinity either to Chinese or Malay. Their weapons are lances headed with iron, and they wear a kind of armour of buffalo-hide without sleeves, reaching below their knees, where it is three feet wide, and as stiff as a board, but close at the shoulders.

I could not perceive that they had any worship, neither saw I any idols among them. They seemed to have no government or precedency, except that the children were very respectful to their parents. They seem, however, to be regulated by some ancient customs, instead of laws, as we saw a young lad buried alive, which we supposed was for being guilty of theft. The men have each only one wife, and she and her children were very obedient to the head of the family. The boys are brought up to fishing along with their fathers; and the girls work along with their mothers in the plantations in the vallies, where each family plants a piece of ground proportional to their numbers. They are a civil quiet people, not only among themselves, but in their intercourse with strangers; for all the time we were here, though they came frequently aboard, exchanging their yellow metal, goats,

39 This is rather inexplicable, as we cannot conceive how they got the guts and skins without killing the goats.—E.

goats, and fruits, for iron, we never saw them differ either among themselves or with our men, though occasions of the latter were not wanting. They have no coins, neither any weights or scales, but give their pieces of yellow metal by guess. During our stay here, we provided ourselves with seventy or eighty fat hogs, and great plenty of potatoes, for our intended voyage to Manilla.

On the 25th September, we were forced out to sea by a violent storm, which lasted till the 29th, when we made the best of our way back to the Bashees, which we reached on the 1st October. This last storm so disheartened our men, that they resolved to give up the design of cruising before Manilla; and, by the persuasions of Captain Read, who now commanded, and Captain Teat, our master, it was determined to sail for Cape Comorin, and thence into the Red Sea. As the eastern monsoon was at hand, our nearest and best way had been to pass through the Straits of Malacca; but Teat persuaded the men to go round by the east side of the Philippines, and thence, keeping south of the Spice islands, to pass into the Indian ocean by the south of Timor.

We sailed from the Bashees on the 3d October, by the east of the Philippines, and on the 15th, being to the south of Luçonia, directed our course west for Mindanao. On the 16th we anchored between two small isles, in lat. 5° 10′ N. four leagues from the island of Mindanao. While here, we learnt from a young prince of one of the isles, that Captain Swan and some of his men were still at Mindanao, and in great esteem for their services against the Alfoores: but I was since informed, that he and his surgeon, when going on board a Dutch ship in the road, were overset by the natives and drowned, by order of rajah Laut, as we supposed, who had seized all his gold.

We sailed on the 2d November for Celebes, and anchored at its N.E. end on the 9th. The 30th, while steering between two shoals, in lat. 3° S. ten leagues from Celebes, we saw three waterspouts towards evening. A waterspout is a piece of a cloud hanging down in a sloping direction, sometimes bending like a bow, but never perpendicular. Opposite to its extremity the sea begins to foam, and the water is then seen gently moving round in a circle, increasing to a rapid whirling motion, rising upwards, an hundred paces in circumference at the bottom, but lessening gradually upwards

wards to the size of a spout, through which the sea-water appears to be conveyed into the cloud, as is manifest by its blackness and increase of bulk. After this the cloud, which was before immoveable, drives along for half an hour, accompanied by the spout. When the sucking is over, and breaks off, all the water which was below the spout, or pendulous cloud, falls again into the sea with a terrible clashing noise. These spouts are, however, more frightful than dangerous.

We had sight of the Isle of Bouton on the 1st December, and anchored there on the 5th, where we staid till the 11th, procuring eggs, fowls, potatoes, and other provisions from the natives, who are Mahometans, and speak the Malay language. Continuing our voyage, we saw the N.W. point of Timor on the 28th, and on the 29th stood S. towards New Holland, which we fell in with on the 4th January, 1688, in lat. 16° 50′ S. *New Holland* is a vast tract of land, but whether island or continent is hitherto unknown.[40] We anchored at a point of land, three leagues to the east of which is a deep bay. The land was low and sandy, the points only excepted, which were rocky, as were some islands in the bay. We found here no fresh water, except by digging. There were various trees, and among these the tree producing dragon's-blood. We saw no fruit-trees, nor so much as the track of any animal, except one footstep of a beast, which seemed the size of a large mastiff. There were a few land-birds, but none bigger than a black-bird, and scarcely any sea-fowl; neither did the sea afford any fish, except tortoises and manatees,[41] both of which are in vast plenty.

The inhabitants are the most miserable wretches in the universe, having no houses or coverings but the heavens, and no garments except a piece of the bark of a tree tied round the waist. They have no sheep, poultry, or fruits, and subsist wretchedly on a few shell-fish, such as cockles, muscles, and periwinkles, living without any government or order, and cohabit promiscuously like brutes. Their bodies are straight, thin, and strong-limbed, having great heads and eye-brows, with round foreheads. Their eye-lids are constantly half closed, to keep out flies, which are here very numerous

[40] It is now known to be a vast island, stretching from the lat. of 11° 40′ to 38° 40′, both S. and from long. 109° 40′ to 154° 50′ both E. being 1870 miles from N. to S. and 2400 miles from E. to W.

[41] The Lamentin, or Trichechus Manatus australis of naturalists.—E.

numerous and troublesome. They have large bottle noses, thick lips, and wide mouth; and both men and women, young and old, wanted the two front teeth of the upper jaw. They have no beards, and their hair is short and curled like the negroes, their complexion being equally black with them. Their weapons are a kind of wooden swords or clubs, and long straight poles sharpened at one end. Of their language I can only say that they speak much in the throat. We landed several times, and brought the natives to some degree of familiarity with us, by giving them some old clothes, but could never prevail on them to assist us in carrying water or any other thing, as they seemed quite averse from labour.

We sailed hence on the 12th March, and on the 7th April got sight of Sumatra, whence we directed our course for the Nicobar islands, which we came in sight of on the 4th May, and anchored next day in a small bay at the N. end of the island of Nicobar Proper, in lat. 7° 30′ N. This island produces plenty of cocoa-nuts, and *mallories*, a fruit as large as the bread-fruit of Guam, which the natives boil in covered jars.

Mr Hall, Mr Ambrose, and I, being desirous to leave the unruly crew among whom we had sailed so long, were set ashore at this island, intending to proceed for Acheen. We accordingly left this island on the 5th May, accompanied by four Malays and a Portuguese, in a Nicobar canoe, not much bigger than one of the London wherries used below bridge. On the 18th we had a violent storm, when we expected every moment to be swallowed up by the waves; but on the 19th, to our great joy, we saw *Pulo Way*, near the N.W. end of Sumatra, as was supposed, but it turned out to be the golden mountain of Sumatra, and at length arrived at Acheen in June. In July I went with Captain Weldon to Tonquin, and returned to Acheen in April, 1689. In September of that year I went to Malacca, and came back about Christmas, 1690. Soon after I went to Fort St George or Madras, where I remained five months, and came back to Bencoolen, an English factory on the west coast of Sumatra.

Before relating my return to England, it may be proper to give some account of *Jeoly*, the painted prince, who afterwards died at Oxford. He was purchased along with his mother at Mindanao by Mr Moody; and when Mr Moody and I went together to Bencoolen, he gave me at parting half the property of this painted prince and his mother,

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leaving them to my care. They were born in the island of *Meangis*, which abounds in gold, cloves, and nutmegs, as he afterwards told me. He was curiously painted, down the breast, behind, between the shoulders, and most of all on the fore part of his thighs, in the nature of flower-work. By what I could understand, this painting was done by pricking the skin, and rubbing in the gum of a tree called *damurer*, used instead of pitch in some parts of India. He told me, that the natives of his country wore gold ear-rings, and golden bracelets about their arms and legs; their food being potatoes, fowls, and fish. He told me also, that being one day in a canoe with his father and mother, they were taken by some fishers belonging to Mindanao, who sold them to the interpreter of Rajah Laut, with whom he and his mother lived as slaves for five years, and were then sold for fifty dollars to Mr Moody. Some time afterwards, Mr Moody gave me the entire property of both, but the mother soon died, and I had much ado to save the son. After my arrival in the Thames, being in want of money, I first sold part of my property in Prince Jeoly, and by degrees all the rest. He was afterwards carried about and shewn for money, and at last died of the small-pox at Oxford.

During my stay at Bencoolen I served as gunner of the fort; but when my time was expired, I embarked with my painted prince in the Defence, Captain Heath, in order to return to England. We sailed on the 25th January, 1691, in company with three other ships, and arrived at the Cape of Good Hope in the beginning of April. After a stay of six weeks, we set sail on the 13th May for St Helena, where we arrived on the 20th June. We left this island on the 2d July, and came to anchor in the Downs on the 16th September, 1691, after an absence of twelve years and a half from my native country.

CHAPTER IX.

VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD, BY WILLIAM FUNNELL, IN 1703-1706.[1]

INTRODUCTION.

THIS voyage has usually passed under the name of Captain William Dampier; but as he proceeded only to the South Seas, and the circumnavigation was entirely completed by Mr William Funnell, who sailed originally as his mate, it seemed proper to place his name in the title of the voyage, instead of that of Captain Dampier, with whom, in this voyage, we have much less to do. It is just however to state, that it was on the credit of Captain Dampier, and in expectation that he would be able to do great things against the Spaniards in the South Sea, that this expedition was undertaken. The point aimed at was plunder, rather than discovery, yet there was something remarkable done even in this way; and the unknown islands met with by Mr Funnell, in his passage between the South Sea and India, strongly confirmed the reports of former navigators, of large, populous, and well-cultivated countries in those parts.[2] The narrative of Funnell also is well digested, and may be read with much satisfaction, as giving a fair and agreeable account of his adventures.

This expedition was undertaken at the beginning of the Succession war, in the reign of Queen Anne; and high expectations were raised from it, of performing great exploits against the Spaniards, who had accepted the Duke of Anjou as their king. The merchants believed that a very profitable expedition might be made into these parts, with a reasonable force, where the buccaneers, with small and ill-provided vessels,

[1] Funnell's narrative in Dampier's Voyages, vol. IV. pp. 1.—203. Harris, I. 131. Callender, III. 66. and III. 145.

[2] All these fancies are now shewn to be imaginary.—E.

vessels, had performed such extraordinary things; and therefore, having obtained the best information they could as to the proper manner of accomplishing the design, they cheerfully contributed to the expences necessary for the purpose. With this view, they at first fitted out two ships of 26 guns and 120 men each, which were designed for the South Seas. One of these was named the St George, commanded by Captain William Dampier, in which Mr William Funnell sailed as chief mate. The other was the Fame, commanded by Captain John Pulling. Both ships were amply supplied with warlike stores, and well victualled for nine months; and had commissions from Prince George, the queen's husband, lord-high-admiral, to proceed against the French and Spaniards; and the officers and crews of both were hired on the principles of sharing in the expedition, *no purchase no pay.*

While they lay in the Downs, some difference arose between the two captains, on which Captain Pulling went away with his ship, the Fame, intending to cruize among the Canary Islands, and never afterwards joined. Before sailing on the originally-proposed expedition, Dampier was joined by a small ship, the Cinque-ports galley, Captain Charles Pickering, of ninety tons, carrying 16 guns and 63 men, well victualled and provided for the voyage. The original plan of the voyage was to go first up the Rio Plata, as high as Buenos Ayres, in order to capture two or three Spanish galleons, which Dampier alledged were usually there. If this part of the expedition succeeded, so as to get to the value of about 600,000*l.* it was to be proceeded in no farther; but if this first object failed, they were then to cruize on the coast of Peru, to intercept the ships which bring gold from Baldivia to Lima. Should this again fail of success, they were to attempt some rich towns, as Dampier might direct. After this, they were to go to the coast of Mexico, at that time of the year when the great galleon usually comes from Manilla to Acapulco, which is commonly reported to be worth fourteen millions of dollars.

On their arrival at Madeira, learning that the galleons from Buenos Ayres had already arrived in safety at Teneriffe, that part of the expedition was laid aside. "How well we pursued the latter part of our instructions, the subsequent history of our voyage will sufficiently declare; in recording which I have used the greatest sincerity, narrating every thing exactly in the manner in which it happened, and set-

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ting down all that appeared worthy of notice, with all truth and plainness: so that I flatter myself the whole will be found useful, and that the latter part especially will be esteemed new, curious, and interesting, as it contains many things not before published or known." [3]

SECTION I.

Narrative of the Voyage, till the Separatiou of Funnell from Dampier.

WE sailed from the Downs on the 30th April, 1703, and anchored on the 18th May at Kinsale, in Ireland. We here refitted and victualled our ship, and were joined by the Cinque-ports, and left Kinsale on the 11th September. We reached Madeira on the 25th, where we did not come to anchor, but plied off and on for our boats, which were sent ashore for necessaries. By a good observation, I made this island to be in lat. 32° 20′ N. and long. by my account, 18° 5′ W. from London.[1] October 6th, we saw Mayo, one of the Cape de Verd islands, in lat. 15° 12′ N. long. 23° 20′ W. off which we plied all night; but the surf ran so high that we durst not send our boats ashore for salt. We accordingly bore up next day for St Jago, and anchored at noon of the 7th in Prior bay [Port Praya] in that island. This is one of the most fruitful of the Cape Verd Islands, abounding in hogs, poultry, guinea fowl, monkeys, maiz, oranges, lemons, dates, water-melons, plantains, bananas, and other fruits, having good water, but troublesome to get at, and wood is very dear. The inhabitants of this island were formerly Portuguese, banished thither for murders, thefts, and other crimes; but are now mostly all black, in consequence of these men having issue by their female slaves, which were Guinea negroes. Yet they still retain the vices of their progenitors, thieving being more common here than in any place I ever visited, insomuch that they will take a man's hat from his head at noon day and in the midst of company. In trading with them, it is necessary not to let them have your goods before theirs are delivered, or you are sure to lose them. We here

[3] This introduction is from the pen of Harris; and the last paragraph, marked by inverted commas, is given in the words of Funnell.—E.

[1] Lat. 32° 33′ N. long. 17° 5′ W. from Greenwich.—E.

here watered and refreshed ourselves; and here a disagreement took place between Captain Dampier and his first-lieutenant, who was turned ashore at midnight, with his chest and servant. At four next morning, being the 13th October, we sailed from St Jago, not fully resolved where next to touch at.

On the 22d October we caught four fish; a shark, a dolphin, a jelly-fish, and an old-wife. The shark and dolphin are well known, and need not be described in this place. The *Jelly-fish* was about fourteen inches long and two inches deep, having sharp teeth, a sparkling eye, and long extended mouth. It has a prodigiously high fin on its back, of a slimy substance, except that its rays, which are thirty-two in number, are firm and stiff. It has also one small fin under the throat, of the same slimy substance with the large one on its back. The greater part of the body is of a silver colour, with numerous small dark spots and circular bands, all the rest of its substance being a green jelly-like substance, whence the name. The *Old-wife* is about two feet long and nine inches high in the back, having a small mouth, a large eye, and a large broad fin beginning at the hinder part of the head, and reaching to the tail. It has also a large broad fin on each side near the gills, and a pretty large one under the belly. The body is deep blue, and the fins a very light blue, tipt with yellow. The head has many spots, and the body is regularly streaked longways.

We passed the equator on the 2d November, about forty-five leagues west from the meridian of St Jago. On the 8th, in lat. 10° 20′ S. we saw three small islands on the coast of Brazil, called the islands of St Ann, not above a stone's throw from each other, and very full of wood, as is the whole coast of Brazil. These islands are about four miles from the main, and are much troubled with southerly winds, which blow in gusts, so that ships ought here to lay their best anchor to the south, and all little enough sometimes for their safety. They produce nothing except wood, and are frequented by vast flocks of sea fowl, called boobies by our sailors. The *booby* is about the size of a duck, some entirely white and others grey, having feet like a duck, and subsist mostly on flying-fishes, which they catch while in the air. I have made many a meal on these birds, but it was for want of other victuals, for

[1] Lat. 32° 33′ long. 17° from Greenwich.—E.

for they taste very fishy, and are apt to make one sick, if not previously well salted. They are so silly, when weary of flying, that they will light upon your hand, if held out to them.

We anchored at the island of *Le Grand*, in lat. 23° 30′ S.[2] on the 24th of November. This is a very woody island, on which are several good springs of water. It is about nine miles in circuit, and three miles from the main, the woods being infested with many savage animals, which make a most hideous noise in the night. It produces sugar, rum, and several kinds of fruits, but all very dear, on account of supplying the town of St Paul with necessaries. *St Paul* is 300 miles inland from Le Grand; but by the vast high mountains which are between, it is reckoned a distance of sixty days journey. Near St Paul there is said to be a gold mine, which is accounted the richest hitherto known. We here wooded, watered, and refitted our ships; and our new first-lieutenant, falling out with the captain, went ashore, together with eight of our men, and left us. Here also Charles Pickering, captain of the Cinque-ports, departed this life, and was succeeded in the command by his first-lieutenant, Mr Thomas Stradling. At this island there are good fish of various sorts, one of which, called the *Silver-fish*, is about twenty inches long, and eight deep, from back to belly, having five small fins immediately behind the head, and one large fin from the last of these to the tail; one middle-sized fin on each side near the gills, and a large fin from the middle of the belly to the tail, which last is half-moon shaped. The eyes are large, the nostrils wide, and the mouth small. It is a thin fish, and full of bones, of a fine transparent white, like silver.

Leaving the isle of Le Grand on the 8th December, we passed the islands of Sebalt de Weert[3] [*Falklands*] on the 29th. In lat. 57° 50′ S. we had a terrible storm, in which we lost company of our consort, the Cinque-ports, on the 4th January, 1704. When in lat. 60° 51′ S. on the 20th, believing we had sufficiently passed Cape Horn, we tacked to the N. and got sight of the island of *Mocha* on the 4th February. This island is in lat. 38° 20′ S. twenty miles from the coast of Chili, and is well inhabited by Indians, who are always

[2] Isla Grande is only in lat. 30° N. and St Paul's, stated in the text, as 300 miles distant, is hardly 200, and is at within twenty-five miles of the coast farther south.—E.

[3] Called Sibbil de Ward Islands in the narrative of Funnell.—E.

always at war with the Spaniards, and indeed with all white men, because they consider them all as Spaniards. It is a high island, four leagues long, having many shoals on its west side, which extend a league or more out to sea. It is about 112 miles to the northward of Baldivia.

We saw the island of Juan Fernandez on the 7th February, and on the 10th, while passing the great bay, we saw the Cinque-ports, which had arrived three days before. We accordingly anchored in the great bay, in thirty-five fathoms. At this island we wooded, watered, and refitted our ships, giving them a heel to clean their sides as low as we could, which took up much time, and occasioned both companies to be much on shore. In this island there are abundance of cabbage-trees, which are excellent, though small. The cabbage-tree, which is a species of palm, has a small straight stem, often ninety to one hundred feet long, with many knots or joints, about four inches asunder, like a bamboo-cane. It has no leaves except at the top, in the midst of which the substance called cabbage is contained, which, when boiled, is as good as any garden cabbage. The branches of this tree are commonly twelve or thirteen feet in length, and at about a foot and a half from the tree the leaves begin, which are about four feet long and an inch and a half broad, the leaves growing so regularly that the whole branch seems one entire leaf. The cabbage, when cut out from among the roots of the branches, is usually a foot long and six inches diameter, and as white as milk. From the bottom of the cabbage there spring out several large bunches of berries, like grapes, each bunch being five or six pounds weight. The berries are red, and about the size of cherries, each having a large stone in the middle, and the pulp tastes like that of haws.

The sea-lion is so called, as I suppose, because he roars somewhat like a lion, and his head also has some resemblance to that animal, having four large teeth in front, all the rest being short, thick, and stubbed. Instead of feet and legs, he has four fins; the two foremost serving him, when he goes ashore, to raise the fore part of the body, and he then draws the hind part after him. The two hinder fins are of no use on land, but only when in the water. This animal is very fat, for which reason we killed several of them, from which we made a ton of oil for our lamps; and, while at this island, made use of it also for frying our fish. They have short light-coloured hair while young, becoming sandy when old. Their food

food is fish, and they prey altogether in the water, but come on land to sleep, when five, six, or more of them huddle together like swine, and will often lie still three or four days, if not molested. They are much afraid of men, and make off as fast as they can into the water. If hard pressed, they will turn about, raising their bodies on their fore fins, and face you with their mouths wide open, so that we used to clap a pistol to their mouth, and fire down their throat. Sometimes five or six of us would surround one of these monsters, each having a half pike, and so prick him till he died, which commonly was the sport of two or three hours.

While we were at this island, a difference took place between Captain Stradling and his men, which was at last compromised by Captain Dampier. On the 29th February we descried a sail, on which all hands hurried on board, and we slipped our cables and stood out to sea. The Frenchman, for so he afterwards proved, immediately tacked and stood from us, while we followed the chase with all sail, and got up with him about eleven at night, but did not deem it convenient to engage till day. During the chase our pinnace towed under water, and was cut adrift. Captain Stradling's boat also got loose, in which were a man and a dog.

At sun-rise next morning, 1st March, we began to engage the French ship, which was of about 400 tons burden, and thirty guns, well manned. We fought her very close, broadside to broadside, for seven hours; and then a small gale springing up, she sheered off. In this action our consort only fired ten or twelve guns at the commencement, when she dropt astern, and never again came up during the whole fight, in which we had nine men slain and several wounded. We were desirous to have had another trial with the Frenchman, knowing it would be of bad consequences to let him go, as he would discover our being in these seas to the Spaniards; but our captain opposed this, saying, he knew where he could get to the value of 500,000*l.* at any time. So we concluded to return to Juan Fernandez, to get our anchors, long boats, and several tons of water already casked, together with a ton of sea-lion oil, which we had left there. Captain Stradling also had left five of his men, who were gone to the west part of the island, and knew nothing of our going away after the enemy. He had also left all his sails, besides those at the yards, and a great many other stores.

We had then the wind at S. directly off Juan Fernandez, so

so that it was difficult to go there; and while beating up we saw two sail, to which the Cinque-ports was very near, and they fired several shots at her, but she rowed away to us, and reported them to be two French ships of about 36 guns each; on which the two captains thought it convenient to bear away for the coast of Peru, leaving Captain Stradling's five men, with his other stores, which he could ill spare, and now we had neither of us any boats. We accordingly stood for the coast of Peru on the 6th March, and fell in with it on the 11th, in lat. 24° 53′ S.[4] The land here was very high, having three distinct ranges of hills behind each other, that nearest the water the lowest, and the farthest off the highest. We coasted along shore to the northward, and passed the port of *Capaipo* on the 14th, said to be a very good harbour, fenced from almost all winds. The land is here inhabited by Indians, who make good wines; and it is said to abound in good meat, corn, and other provisions, and from this port they export wine, money, and other goods for Coquimbo. We would willingly have gone ashore for refreshments, but could not for want of boats.

Continuing along the coast, which is the highest and most mountainous I ever saw, we were surprised, on the 19th of March, to see the waves changed to a red colour for seven or eight leagues, though on sounding we had no ground at 170 fathoms; but on drawing up some of the water, we found the colour owing to a vast quantity of fish-spawn, swimming on the surface. We were now in lat. 16° 11′ S. having passed the three famous ports of Arica, Ylo, and Arequipa. The 22d March we were off the harbour of Callao de Lima, when we saw two ships steering for that port, to which we gave chase, and soon came up with the sternmost, which proved to be the ship we had fought with off the island of Juan Fernandez. We were very eager to stop her from going in, to prevent the Spaniards from having intelligence of us, and hindering their merchant ships from putting to sea, and did not question our taking her, being all now in health; whereas on the former occasion, between twenty and thirty of our men were very sick and weak. But Captain Dampier was averse to attack her; and while the matter was disputing, both

[4] There must be a material error here, as they afterwards, in sailing along the coast *to the northwards*, passed Copaipo, which is in lat. 27° 13′ S. and they consequently must have fallen in with the coast of Chili, improperly named Peru in the text, considerably farther south.—E.

both ships got into the port of Lima, from whence twenty ships such as ours could not have forced them out. This proceeding gave great offence to most of the crew, and might have proved of bad consequence, had we not taken two very considerable prizes a few days afterwards, one of 150 and the other of 200 tons. We took out of these every thing that we thought useful, and then dismissed them.

The 5th of April, we began to prepare for the great exploit our captain meditated, of landing on the coast and plundering some rich city; for which purpose our carpenters were ordered to fit up the launches or long boats we had taken from our prizes, so as to land our men in safety, and to fit two swivels in each launch. On the 11th we took a bark of fifty tons, laden with plank and cordage, as if sent on purpose for our present service. This was in sight of *Gallo*, under which island we anchored next day with our prize, which we kept to use in the intended enterprise. The island of *Gallo* is in lat. 2° 45′ N. long. 76° 38′ W. from London,[5] and about five leagues from the main; being two leagues long and one league broad. When approached from the south, it shews three hummocks which seem at a distance as three separate islands, the land between being very low; but when to the N.W. of the S. end you will see a small island, or rock rather, resembling a ship under sail. From this island the main land is in sight, being very low near the sea, but prodigiously high up the country. We anchored off the N.W. part of this island, two cables length from the shore, in thirty-five fathoms on hard sand, the N. point bearing N. ½ W. and the S. point S.W. The watering place goes in with a full gap, over which, on the hill, is a plain spot of red earth, bearing N.W. ½ N. but there are several other good watering places in the island. The best anchorage is on the N.E. part at *Legnetta*, where a ship may wood and water quite secure from any enemy. The island is very woody, affording large timber, which is often shipped hence for Peru. There are here a few wild monkeys, with abundance of lizards; among which is one called the *lion-lizard*, about the size of a man's arm, one that I measured being three feet eleven inches from the head to the end of the tail. It has a kind of large comb on its head, standing up like a helmet, as if to defend its head, and when attacked it erects this

[5] Lat. 1° 56′ N. long. 78° 50′ W. from Greenwich.—E.

this comb, which otherwise lies in a deep groove on the head, just fitted for its reception, so that it can hardly be seen when down. This animal has very large eyes, and a large mouth, in which are a great many small sharp teeth. The skin is rough and of a dark colour, full of black, yellow, and bluish spots. It runs very swift, yet our dog caught many of them.

After remaining here five days, we began to hoist our anchors to set sail, when we discovered a ship standing in for the island, which we took. She was a small vessel of fifty tons, commanded by a Mestizo, on board of which we found a Guernsey man, who had been taken by the Spaniards, while cutting logwood in the Bay of Campeachy above two years before, and must have continued a prisoner during life if we had not released him. On sailing from Gallo, our purpose was to attack the town of Santa Maria, not far from this on the continent to the E. expecting there to have found a great quantity of gold, brought thither from the adjacent mines of the same name. But this design miscarried, whether from fear, confusion, or the enemy having early intelligence of our motions, which enabled them to cut off many of our men. This, however, is certain, that we were quite sick of our fruitless attempts on shore by the 1st May, and immediately re-embarked. We were now so short of provisions, that five boiled green plantains were allotted for six men; but, when almost out both of hope and patience, a vessel came and anchored close beside us at midnight, which we took without resistance. This proved a most valuable prize, being a ship of 150 tons, laden with flour, sugar, brandy, wine, about thirty tons marmalade of quinces, a considerable quantity of salt, and several tons of linen and woollen cloth; so that we had now a sufficient supply of provisions even for four or five years. I was put aboard of this prize on behalf of Captain Dampier and his company, and the master of the Cinque-ports, in behalf of Captain Stradling and his crew.

We carried our prize into the Bay of Panama, and anchored under the island of Tobago on the 14th of May. Here Captains Dampier and Stradling disagreed, and the quarrel proceeded to such length, that they could not be reconciled, so that at last it was determined to part company, all the men being at liberty to go with which captain they pleased, in consequence of which five of our men went over

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to Captain Stradling, and five of his men came to us. We were now informed by the prisoners, that there were 80,000 dollars on board our prize, which had been taken on board at Lima clandestinely, and were concealed at the bottom of the hold in the run of the ship. But Captain Dampier would not credit this, neither would he wait till we should rummage her to the bottom, lest delay might mar his great designs. Having, therefore, taken on board a quantity of provisions from the prize, she was dismissed; and we set sail in the St George on the 19th May, leaving the Cinque-ports behind, intending again to proceed for the coast of Peru.

We took a vessel of 120 tons on the 7th June, bound from Truxillo for Panama, and laden with flour, sugar, brandy, and other articles, with some bales of flowered silk. In her we found a packet of letters, and the first of these we happened to read was from the captain of the ship we had fought off Juan Fernandez, and fell in with again going into Callao. It was directed to the president of Panama, and stated, "That he had fought with two English privateers off Juan Fernandez, the smaller having only fired eight or ten guns at him, and then fell astern and did not come up again during the fight, as he believed for want of wind; while the large ship fought him yard-arm and yard-arm for more than six hours, killed a great many of his men, and wounded such numbers, that he had landed thirty-two at Lima, each of whom had lost a leg, an arm, or an eye, and he had been nearly taken, as at parting they had given themselves over for lost, not having a sufficient number of men left to defend themselves." By other letters, we learnt that the two French ships we afterwards saw near Juan Fernandez had picked up a boat at sea, in which were an Englishman and a dog; had been in at the island of Juan Fernandez, and had taken up our anchors, cables, and long-boats, with all Captain Stradling's stores, as also his five men and our negro who were left there. We learnt also, that the Spaniards had fitted out two men of war against us, one of thirty-two, and the other thirty-six brass guns, all twenty-four pounders, each having 350 sailors and 150 soldiers, all picked men, and had been cruizing for us in the Bay of Guayaquil, between point St Helena and Cape Blanco, from the 7th to the 12th.

We were forced to go under an easy sail, as our prize sailed very heavily, wherefore we went into *Sardinas* Bay, in lat. 1° 20′ N. where we anchored with our prize in ten fathoms, about

about four miles from the shore, for the purpose of rummaging her. We durst not go farther in, because of many shoals and sand-banks, which were very imperfectly laid down in all our charts. The sea-coast is inhabited by Indians, but not in any great numbers, and has several small fresh-water rivers. From hence, all the way south, till we came to the Bay of *Atacarnes*, in lat. 0° 54′ N. the sea-side is composed of white cliffs; and there are many shoals as far as *Punta de la Galera*, in lat. 0° 48′ N. Six leagues S.W. of Sardinas Bay is the great river of St Jago, the mouth of which is about three quarters of a mile wide, but has no good anchorage till well within. This river is seldom used by ships, being out of the way, yet the country here produces abundant provisions of all sorts. We careened our ship and rummaged our prize in the Bay of Sardinas, and watered at one of the fresh-water rivers, which was as white as milk, and both smelt and tasted very strong of musk, occasioned by many alligators swimming in it. We shot several of these creatures, one of which measured thirty feet in length, and was bigger about than a bullock.

The alligator is covered over with great scales from head to tail, having very large sharp teeth, and very long claws. It is amphibious, living both on land and in the water, and when lying on shore is often mistaken at a distance for a great tree fallen down. It runs very fast on the land, and is of such strength that one of them will take a horse or a cow into the water, and there devour it. They will seize on any thing, either on land or in the water, and often make great havock among cattle near their haunts, which are usually in fresh-water rivers. The Indians are not greatly afraid of them, either on land or in the water. In the former case, they run in circles, and this unwieldy animal is unable to turn his body quickly, so that they easily get away from them. The Indians also go into the water to seek them, taking in one hand a piece of iron pointed and baited at both ends, with two cross pieces a little below the points. Holding this iron by the middle, when the alligator rises to bite, which he always does with the head above water, the Indian holds out the iron to him which he snaps at, and it fastens in his mouth, keeping his jaws open like a gag. The female lays about 100 eggs at a time, as large as goose eggs, but quite spherical, and having shells as thick almost as those of an ostrich. The flesh of the alligator is not fit to be eaten,

being

being very strong and musky; and the very water of the rivers they frequent was so strong of musk that a draught of it was like to suffocate us, yet there are no instances of its being injurious to health.

Being off the Bay of Guayaquil on the 21st June, we saw a ship, and came up with her next day, being one of the Spanish men of war fitted out to take us, carrying thirty-two guns. We did all we could to gain the weather-gage, but carrying away our fore-top-mast, were obliged to come to action from the leeward, so that she kept a good distance from us, and we could not use our small arms. Dividing our crew into two equal parts, one managed the guns while the other looked on, and when those at the guns were weary, the others took their places, alternately refreshing those who were not employed, by which means we fired much faster than the enemy, making about 560 discharges, while they only made 110 or 115. We thus fought from noon till half past six, though at such distance that our shot would hardly reach him, while his flew over us. Growing dusk, both ceased firing, none of our men being either killed or wounded, and only two through carelessness had their hands and faces scorched. We lay-to all night, expecting in the morning to renew the fight; but he had made sail from us in the night.

We now returned to the Bay of Atacames in search of provisions, for which purpose we sent our boat ashore with twenty men, who soon returned, saying they had found an Indian village of fifty houses, but the inhabitants were all fled and had left nothing behind. In the river we found a fine bark of about fifty tons, with as much new plank in her as would have built another of equal size; and we took another of about ten tons, laden with plantains. This we resolved to retain, instead of a long-boat. She had two masts and two square-sails, and having fitted her for our purpose, we called her the Dragon. The country in the neighbourhood of this bay is very pleasant, being well wooded and watered. About seven leagues to the N.E. is the Bay of *St Mattheo,* the land about it being very high, and there are many shoals about it, running two leagues out to sea. For three or four leagues the water is only from four fathoms to six, and this bay has white cliffs both to the north and south. In the bottom of the bay there are two rivers running into the sea, both of which are what the seamen call *alligator water,* that is, white and

and musky as before described. On each side of these rivers there are shoals of sand; and near their mouths are fine groves of tall spreading green trees, which are the marks by which they may be found, as their mouths are narrow, and not discernible at a distance. These rivers are seldom frequented by the Spaniards, except for refreshments, for which they are well adapted, as all the adjoining country abounds with every kind of provisions that this part of the world produces. About two leagues up these rivers there are several Indian villages, who furnish the Spanish ships which come here with cocoa-nuts, plantains, bananas, and other kinds of fruit.

The *cocoa-tree* is generally from fifty to an hundred feet high, and for the most part straight and slender. The leaves are four fathoms, or four and a half long, at the very top of the tree, and serve excellently for thatching houses. At the bottom of the leaves the cocoa nuts grow in clusters of ten, fifteen, or twenty, hanging by a small string which is full of joints. Each nut, with its outer rind, is larger than a man's head, and within this outer rind is a hard woody shell which will hold near a quart of liquid. The nut or kernel lines the inside of this shell, and within this kernel is about a pint and half of pure clear water, very cool, sweet, and pleasant. The kernel also is very good and pleasant; but when old, we scrape it all down, and soak it in about a quart of fresh water for three or four hours, which is then strained, and has both the colour and taste of milk, and will even throw up a thick head not unlike cream. This milk, when boiled with rice, is accounted very wholesome and nourishing by the doctors, and was given to our sick men. When the nut is very old, the kernel of itself turns to oil, which is often used to fry with, but mostly for burning in lamps. The outer end of the nuts may be applied to the purposes of flax, and of it the natives make a kind of linen, and it is also manufactured into ropes and cables, which are sold in most parts of America and the West Indies. The shell of this nut makes very pretty drinking cups, and it also burns well, making a fierce hot fire. Thus the cocoa-tree affords meat, drink, oil, clothing, houses, firing, and rigging for ships.

The *plantain-tree* is only about thirteen or fourteen feet high and four feet round, its leaves being eight or nine feet long and two broad, ending in a round point. The fruit grows at the bottom of the leaves, on a great stalk, in a pod about

about eight inches long and the size of a black pudding, being of a fine yellow colour, often speckled with red. The inside of this is white, but the plantain itself is yellow like butter, and as soft as a pear. There sometimes grow fifty or sixty of these pods on one stalk, and five or six stalks on one tree. They are an excellent fruit, and most parts of the East and West Indies abound with them. The *banana* tree is much the same with the plantain, but the fruit is only about six inches long, fifty or sixty of them growing on one stalk, and is extraordinarily mellow, sweet, and good.

We left the bay of Atacames on the 31st July, accompanied by our prize the Dragon, and passing the Bay of Panama, came to the Bay of Nicoya on the 16th August, in lat. 9° 30′ N. in which we anchored near certain islands near the centre of the bay, called Middle Islands, where we careened. While here, Mr Clippington, the chief mate, having quarrelled with Captain Dampier, drew over twenty-one men to his party, and making himself master of the bark, in which was all our ammunition and the best part of our provisions, hoisted anchor, and went without the islands, whence he sent us word that he would put ashore at an Indian house all our powder, shot, and other ammunition, reserving only what was necessary for his own use, which he did accordingly, and we sent our canoes to fetch it on board.

These islands in the Bay of Nicoya are extremely pleasant and fruitful, abounding in all things necessary for life, such as birds of various kinds, several sorts of fish, and amphibious animals, particularly turtles and guanas. Among the birds is a very beautiful one called the *Maccaw*, having feathers of all the colours of the rainbow. It is in shape like a large parrot, with a white bill, and black legs and feet. The *carrion crow* is as big as a small turkey, which it perfectly resembles in shape and colour; but its flesh smells and tastes so strong of muck that it is not eatable. The *pelican* is almost as big as a swan, being mostly white with brown tips to the wings, having a long bill with a large cross joining the lower part of the bill, and hanging down the throat like a bag or satchel of great size, into which it receives oysters, cockles, conchs, and other shell-fish, which it is unable to break, and retains them there till they open, when it throws them out and picks out the meat. They are good food, but taste a little fishy. Their feet are broad, and webbed like ducks, being water fowl, yet they commonly roost on rocks

or trees, and always sit with their heads to the wind, varying their posture as that changes. They are heavy birds and fly slowly, and always when sitting rest their long bills upon their breasts. The *Guana* is an amphibious animal, found both on land and in the water. It is about three feet long, some more some less, and is very ugly, having large sharp scales, black and green, from the fore part of the head to the end of the tail. The mouth is furnished with numerous large and sharp teeth, and it has four long claws on each foot. They commonly breed in holes about the roots of old trees near the water. When stewed with some spice, their flesh is very white and eats well, making also good broth; but if not extraordinarily well boiled, it is very dangerous meat, making men very sick and often occasioning fevers.

There are several kinds of *turtles*, or sea tortoises, but we account the green turtle the best meat. When they want to lay their eggs, they go on shore in some sandy bay, where they make a hole in the sand with their fins, two feet and a half deep, in which one turtle will deposit from eighty to ninety eggs, which they cover over with the sand, leaving them to hatch by the heat of the sun. They lay in this manner two or three times every year, and go immediately off to sea, leaving their young when hatched to shift for themselves; which, as soon as they get out of the eggs and from the sand, retire to the sea. The eggs are round and white, as large as those of a duck, being covered with a thin tough skin, but no shell. I have seen of the green turtle 200, 350, and even 400 pounds weight. The lean of this animal looks like beef, but the fat is as green as grass, yet is very wholesome food. The *pearl-oyster* is much about the size of our common oyster, but thick and broad, and hangs to the rocks by a long string or beard, like that of a muscle. The pearl is found in its thickest part, and some have six or seven pearls. The Spaniards often make voyages to this gulf of Nicoya and to California in quest of pearls, employing Indian divers, who go down in seven or eight fathoms, and bring up eight, ten, or twelve oysters at a time, which are opened by other men on board. The meat of this oyster is very green and fat, and eats tolerably well, boiled or stewed. The *great-oyster* grows to the rocks, not hanging from them by a beard. When opened, one part of the meat is of a fine red colour like a cherry, and the rest a fine white. I have often eat of this oyster, for want of better victuals; and they are so large, that one of them

them cut in pieces and stewed is a sufficient meal for five or six men. The *muscles* here are so large that one will suffice for a meal to two men, and they are tolerably good when stewed with pepper and vinegar.

We sailed from the Gulf of Nicoya on the 23d September, and were in lat. 13° 7′ N. on the 7th October, when we got sight of two high mountains, commonly called the Volcanoes of Guatimala. That which is to the north of the city is the highest, and affords a fine prospect from the sea; and in the year 1534 threw out a torrent of water, which totally overwhelmed the old city of St Jago de Guatimala, and occasioned the building of a new city at the distance of thirty-five miles S.E. The other mountain is really a volcano, which rages terribly in the rainy season, from April to November, sometimes throwing out stones as big as a house, and with such prodigious eruptions of flame, that one may see to read a letter in a dark night at the distance of six miles. This is to the south of Guatimala.

The 9th October we took a bark of eighty tons in ballast, but which had a small quantity of provisions, which were very acceptable. This bark was commanded by a Spaniard named Christian Martin, born in the Canaries, but brought up in London, who had formerly been servant to Captain Eaton, and came with him to the South Sea in quality of gunner; but, falling out with the men, he ran away from them in the island of Gorgonia, where he lay concealed for six days till the ship departed. He then cut down two trees, which he drew to the water side, and bound together with withes, fixed a mast, and made a sail of two shirts which he had with him. Then filling a bag with oysters, he put off early in the morning from Gorgonia, and got next day in the afternoon into the river Bonaventura. He was here ill used by the Spaniards, who sent him to Lima, where he was set at liberty. We were now sixty-four men and boys, all in good health and spirits, and on the 23d November, captured a small bark of sixty tons from California laden with plank, but having also several parcels of pearls, that had been fished on that coast. December 4th we came into the Bay of Nativity, or *Puerto Nauidad*, in lat. 19° 22′ N. where we took a new ship of about sixty tons, laden with ammunition and military stores for the Acapulco ship, for which we were now in search, and for the sight of which our people longed as earnestly as if there had been no difference between seeing and taking her; neither was it long before

before they had their wish in one respect, but not in the other. We took from our prize what ammunition was left; for, on perceiving our design, the ship's company quitted her, having first thrown overboard the best part of her cargo, and left the rest scattered about in the utmost confusion.

Being off the volcano of Colima on the morning of the 6th December, we descried a sail to which we gave chace, and soon came up with her, when she proved to be the great Acapulco ship or Manilla galleon, which we had so long wished to fall in with. As we were well provided, we gave her a great many broadsides before she could get any of her guns cleared for action, as she had not suspected us of being an enemy, and was not at all prepared for us. Martin, who was still a prisoner on board our ship, advised us to lay her aboard immediately, while the Spaniards were all in confusion, as we might then easily succeed by boarding; but if we gave them time to get out their great guns, they would certainly tear us to pieces, and we should lose the opportunity of acquiring a prize worth sixteen millions of dollars. Thus it accordingly happened; for the time being wasted in disputing, between those of us that were for boarding, and those of a different opinion, she got out one tier of guns, and then proved too hard for us, so that we could not lie along side of her to do her any damage. Our five pound shot, which was the biggest we had, signified little against such a ship; but when any of her eighteen and twenty-four pound shot struck our ship, which was much decayed, it drove in a piece of plank of three or four feet. Being thus greatly damaged, and having received a shot between wind and water in our powder room, by which two feet of plank were driven in on each side of our stern, orders were given to stand off from the enemy.

Our design being thus disappointed, all our men became much discontented, and were for going home, seeing we could do no good in these parts, either for ourselves or owners; our ship also being ready to fall in pieces of herself, and having provisions only for three months at short allowance. Captain Dampier requested that we would consent to prolong our cruize for six weeks longer; after which he promised to permit us to sail for India to some factory, where we might all dispose of ourselves as we thought best for our advantage. To this we all agreed, and we accordingly cruized along shore to the S.E. in sight of land, passing the noted ports of Acapulco, *Puerto de los Angelos*, Guatalco, and several

ral others; when we proposed to seek out a proper place in which to water our ships and bark, previous to our intended voyage to the East Indies; and, after some consideration, the Gulf of Amapalla or Fonseca was fixed upon for that purpose.

On the 5th January, 1705, we met with such vast quantities of fish, that in half an hour we caught near three score *albicores*, from sixty to ninety pounds weight each, besides vast quantities of other fish. The *albicore* is about four or five feet long, weight from 50 to 100 and even 150 pounds. It has eleven fins on its back, one pretty large, a second of middle size, and nine small yellow fins near the tail; one large fin on each side near the gills; and one near the middle of the belly. This is a very fleshy fish, having hardly any bones besides the back bone, and is extraordinary good eating. It has prodigious strength, while in the water, and preys mostly on flying fish, as do dolphins and bonetoes. On the 6th of this month, a new revolution took place in our affairs, as thirty of our men agreed to remain along with Captain Dampier in the South Sea; but with what view or on what terms, we others, who were not in the secret, never knew. Our company, who were not of Dampier's party, consisted of thirty-three men; and, notwithstanding this new arrangement, we all sailed to the Gulf of Amapalla, where we anchored on the 26th January.

That same day, all the remaining provisions were equally divided between the two companies by the agent for the owners, and we had four pieces of cannon, with a proper proportion of small arms and ammunition, assigned for us, for our defence during the voyage to India. Our next care was to take in water, for which purpose we landed on the island of *Conchagua;* and after some search, we found a large bottom behind the hills, in which was a large plantain walk, and a large reservoir of rain water, which came from the mountains. This was very inconvenient, as we were forced to carry all our water over a high hill, which we could hardly climb by ourselves; but there was no alternative, and we set to work to cut down the bushes in our way, to make a clear path. After this, as the hill was very steep on the land side towards the bottom whence we had to fetch water, we cut steps in the hill with axes and shovels; and our sail-maker made a hose or canvass pipe of ninety fathoms long, which carried the water from the top of the hill down to our water

cask

cask at its foot towards the sea. We then fell to work, each man having a six gallon keg, in which the water was carried to the top of the hill, where it was emptied into the hose. We were thus employed four days, in which time we filled twenty-six tons, which we carried on board. The 31st January, we all went to the plantain walk, where we cut down as many plantains as we could carry, with which we returned on board our ship, meaning to set sail next day.

This evening, two of the men who had agreed to remain with Captain Dampier, left him and came over to us, so that our number was now thirty-five, viz. thirty-four English, and a little negro boy we had taken from the Spaniards. While we were employed in watering our bark, the men on board the St George were busied in refitting that ship as well as they could; the carpenter stopping up the shot-holes in the powder-room with tallow and charcoal, not daring, as he said, to drive a nail, for fear of making it worse. The four great guns, which usually stood between decks, were put down into the hold, there being sixteen besides, which was more than they now had men to manage, as there only remained twenty-eight men and boys with Captain Dampier, who were mostly landsmen, a very insignificant force indeed with which to make war on a whole nation.

Section II.

Sequel of the Voyage of William Funnell, after his Separation from Captain Dampier.

We left the Gulf of Amapalla on the 1st February, 1705, where Captain Dampier remained at anchor in the St George, having a fine gale of wind at N.E. While in any of the harbours on the coast of Mexico, we were seldom allowed any thing except flour, only that we used to go on shore, and found on the rocks plenty of concks, oysters, muscles, and other shell-fish, on which we made many a hearty meal. Being now bound, as we hoped, for a land of plenty, we bore hunger and short commons with great patience, of which we had much need, as our allowance was no more than half a pound of coarse flour a day to each man, and two ounces of salt meat every other day. Our vessel was a small bark of about seventy tons with two masts, which we had taken from the

the Spaniards, which was so eaten with worms while in the Gulf of Amapalla, that she already began to grow very leaky. To add to our distress, we had no carpenter, neither had we a doctor or any medicines, if any of us happened to fall sick, and we had no boat to aid us if our vessel should fail: The carpenter, doctor, and boat being all left with Captain Dampier. Yet, trusting to God's providence, who had already delivered us out of so many dangers, we proceeded on our voyage to India; and a bolder attempt was perhaps never made by such a handful of men in so frail a bark, and nothing but our anxious desire to revisit our native country could have supported us under all the difficulties and dangers of this extensive voyage.

The prospect of our difficulties gave us spirit and resolution to provide against them; and in a council, which we held on this occasion, we determined on the course we were to pursue, and the allowance of provisions during the course. We knew the wind we now had was merely a land breeze, and that by running 100 leagues out to sea we should fall in with the regular trade-wind, which blows always N.E. or E.N.E. our first purpose was, therefore, to get into the latitude of 13° N. which is that of Guam, and then to bear away before the wind in that parallel. This resolution was formed on the 2d February, all which day and most of the ensuing night we had fine calm weather, and caught abundance of *yellow-tails*, which swam about the vessel. This fish is about four feet long, having twenty fins on its back; a middling one behind the head, a large one on the middle of the back, and eighteen small ones between that and the tail. It has a large fin on each side near the gills, and thirteen under the belly, viz. a middling one under the gills, a large one near the middle of the belly, which goes in with a dent, and eleven small ones between that and the tail, which is yellow and half-mooned. This fish has a very great head, with large eyes, and is good eating, having no bones except the back-bone. It is all white, except the tips of the fins and the tail, which are yellow. These fish were very acceptable to us, as we fed upon them for three days, saving our other provisions. On the 3d February, five or six turtles came near our bark, two of which we caught, which also served to save our scanty store of provisions, which otherwise had not sufficed to keep us from starving.

On the evening of the 3d February, having a brisk gale from

from the land at N.E. we took our departure from *Mount St Miguel* in the Gulf of Amapalla, steering S.W. and S.S.W. till we were in the lat. of 10° N. when falling in with the trade-wind, we set our course W.N.W. we then made studding-sails to our main and main-top sails, which we hoisted every morning at day-break, and hauling down at sun-set, as it commonly blew so fresh in the night that we had usually to furl our top-sail; but the wind commonly abated at sun-rise. During our whole voyage we steadily adhered to the rule of diet we had laid down, the slenderness of which may be judged of by the following particulars.

From the 3d of February to the end of that month, we fed entirely on plantains, making two meals a day, and allowing two plantains to each man for a meal. We had then recourse to our flour, of which half a pound was allowed daily to each man, and two ounces every other day of salt beef or pork; but the meat had been so long in salt, that it shrunk one half when boiled, wherefore we concluded it was better to eat it raw, which we did as long as it lasted. By the beginning of April that began to fail, so that we were reduced to flour alone, which was sore spoiled, being full of maggots, spiders, and other vermin, so that nothing but the extremity of want could have induced us to eat it. It was surprising to behold this strange alteration in the flour, which only a few days before was white and fine, and was now in a manner all alive, the maggots tumbling over each other in prodigious numbers. On strict enquiry, these maggots seemed to proceed from the eggs of spiders deposited among the flour, out of which the maggots were bred, and then fed voraciously on the flour. Words can only faintly describe the miseries of our situation, which was somewhat alleviated by work, and our spirits were buoyed up by the hopes of accomplishing our long and difficult voyage. Some occasional assistance we derived by now and then catching a dolphin. At other times we saw many sea fowl, such as boobies, noddies, and others, which would come and perch on some part of our rigging, and happy was he that could catch one. In this manner we spent ten weeks, at the end of which we were in a very melancholy condition, and nothing but the hope of seeing land could possibly keep us from despair.

The 10th of April, we observed the clouds to gather more than usual in the horizon, which is a sure indication of land, as it is common between the tropics to be foggy over the land,

land, though perfectly clear at sea; wherefore we kept an anxious look-out all this night, and early in the morning of the 11th, we saw the island of *Magon* W. ten leagues distant. This is a high woody island, very plain, and green on the top. When within a mile of this island, we lay to, and several fishing boats came to us, bringing us fish, yams, eggs, potatoes, and other provisions, to our great joy. The men in these boats were very tall and large-limbed, of tawny complexions, with long black hair reaching to their middles, and were all utterly stark naked, not even covering their parts of shame. In exchange for what we had of these people, we offered them money, which they looked at and returned, making signs to give them tobacco, which we did, and they seemed much pleased. We also gave them some old shirts, which they tore in pieces and wrapped round their heads. We would have given each a dram of brandy, but they were afraid of it; only one man accepted a glass, which he drank off, but we thought he would never have closed his mouth again, he seemed so astonished at the heat it left in his mouth and stomach; that I believe he thought himself on fire. He lay down and roared like a bull near half an hour, when he fell asleep; and we being in haste, put him into his boat, making signs to his companions to take care of him.

These islanders seemed a very civil people, yet we did not venture to allow too many of them to come on board at once. When they first came near us, they tied two sticks together in form of a cross, which they held up, as we supposed, to signify to us that they had some knowledge of Christianity; whereupon we shewed them a crucifix, we had taken from the Spaniards, at the sight of which they all bowed their bodies, and came on board. This island of Magon, as I reckoned, is in lat. 13° N. and we made its longitude by computation, 120° 9′ W. from *St Miguel*, or 7029 English miles, allowing 58½ miles to the degree of longitude in this parallel.[1]

On

[1] From the sequel, this island of Magon appears almost certainly to have been one of the Ladrones, perhaps to the N.E. of Guam, now named Rota. Point Candadillo, near San Miguel, the N.W. cape of the Gulf of Amapalla, is in long. 87° 58′ W. and the Ladrones are in long. 216° W. from Greenwich, so that the difference, or run across the Pacific, is 128° 2′, which, at 58½ miles, extend to 7590 miles, besides the allowance for difference of latitude.—E,

On mature deliberation, we resolved to proceed directly from this place to New Guinea, without putting in at the island of Guam, which was in sight. The weather continued fair, and the wind brisk and favourable, till we came into the latitude of 4° N. when we had a calm for seven days, during which time we had no means of relieving our hunger, except by taking large draughts of water, and then lying down to sleep. On the 3d May we had a fine gale, which continued till the 5th, and then died quite away before we got sight of land; but about ten that night we were all sensible of a very odoriferous smell, whence we concluded that we were near land, on which we examined our charts, but found none laid down. Next morning, however, we saw land at no great distance. This day also we caught two bonetoes, which were most welcome, as they made a hearty meal to our whole company. This fish is commonly about three feet long and two in circumference, having a very sharp head, with a small mouth, full eyes, and a semilunar tail. It is very fleshy, and makes good broth. About noon we were in sight of three small islands, all low land, but very green and pleasant, especially to us, who had been so long of seeing any land. We had this day an observation of the sun, by which we found our latitude to be 50′ N. and as the eastermost of these islands was four leagues S.E. of the ship, it must of consequence be in lat. 0° 42′ N.[2]

As we were fearful of entering upon an unknown coast in the dark, we stood off all night, which was well for us, as we found ourselves at day-break next morning, 7th May, within a ship's length of a great reef of rocks, which extended from one island to the other, and thinking to have gone between the islands, we had nearly run upon this dangerous ledge. Having a small breeze from shore we were fortunately able to stand off, and went to the westermost island, because we saw many shoals off the others. The rocks we were so near running upon were off the northmost isle, which we named the Island of *Deceit*. On getting near the westermost island which was the biggest of the three, forty or fifty of their flying proas came off, in which there might be 450 men, allowing

[2] The only islands in modern maps which agree with the slight notice in the text, are Frevilla, or St David's Isle, nearly in lat. 1° N. and long. 135° E. from Greenwich: Yet it is singular that Funnell should have passed through the numerous group of the Carolines without seeing any of them.—E.

ing ten to each proa, and we could also see multitudes of people on the shore looking at us as we passed. The flying proas kept at a distance from us, till we beckoned and made signs for them to come near, and at length one came within a ship's length, in which were ten men entirely naked, in the midst of whom was a grave old man of a pleasant countenance, entirely naked like the rest, except that he had a four-cornered cap on his head without a crown. By the respect shewn him by all the rest in the boat, we judged this man to be a king or prince. On their approach, they sung a song which continued near a quarter of an hour, and had a very pretty tune. When this was done, they came almost close to our vessel, and then sung another song, which was begun by the old man, and followed by all the rest in the boat. At the end of which, they put themselves in a posture of prayer, making many bows and cringes towards us; and then one of the men in the boat, who had a very sore leg, held it up to us, as if desiring us to cure it, whence we supposed they had never seen white men before, and deemed us more than mortals.

After some time, we made signs to let them know we wanted victuals and drink, when they shook their heads as if by way of denial. Seeing us proceeding towards the island, one of the men in the boat blew a horn, on which all the other boats made boldly towards us; and thinking they meant to board us, we fired a junket over their heads to intimidate them, at the noise of which they seemed much surprised and drew back, menacing us at a distance with their paddles, and still following. Seeing such multitudes on the shore, and finding we could have nothing from them but by force, and besides not having anchors and cables on which we could depend, or any boat in which to land, we concluded that we could do no good here; and on examining our water, which was found sufficient for eighteen days, at a quart each man daily, we resolved to quit these islands, and trust to Providence for guiding us to some more friendly place, where we might supply our wants. So we left these islands, naming the westermost the Island of *Disappointment*, because we made certain of procuring water here, but could not.

These three islands were all low, flat, and almost even with the water, yet full of trees of various sorts, all very green and flourishing; and doubtless, if we had possessed a boat, we must have found something beneficial to ourselves, perhaps

perhaps useful to our country, as we might also at several other islands which we afterwards passed. The inhabitants of most of these islands were a very large and strong-boned race of men, having long black lank hair reaching to their middles, and were all entirely naked, not so much as covering their parts of shame; and I certainly never saw such a parcel of stout-limbed men together in all my life. These islands, therefore, are abundantly peopled, though they were utterly averse from any communication with us, perhaps from a notion that all whites are Spaniards; and yet it is not quite clear that even the Spaniards have ever attempted to form a settlement at any of these islands.

We left these islands with a fresh breeze at E. steering S.W. and continually met with weeds and grass on our way, which made us believe we were not far from land, yet we had no ground with 100 fathoms. Early in the morning of the 9th May, we descried the coast of New Guinea, more than eighteen or nineteen leagues distant. We now saw the necessity of constructing a boat, with a few old boards and such other materials as we had, though not quite suitable for the purpose; and though neither strong nor handsome, it proved exceeding useful in the sequel. On the 9th we had very bad weather, the wind shifting to every point of the compass. This part of New Guinea appeared very mountainous, black, and rocky, without harbour, bay, or road, in which we might anchor in safety. The mountains seemed so bleak and barren, and the vallies so deep and narrow, that at first we conceived the country to be uninhabited; neither did we afterwards see any inhabitants or signs of any. That same day we passed two small islands, each about a league in length, which were very low, and well clothed with small green trees. At the same time we saw part of the great island of Gilolo, at the distance of eight leagues, and held our course W.S.W.[3] intending to pass through between that island and New Guinea, into the East Indian Sea.

We had very bad weather till the 11th of May, and the night being very dark, we missed the common passage, and found ourselves among many small islands; and as the wind was

[3] The only way of explaining this part of the text, is by supposing Funnel may have mistaken the island of Waygoo for a part of New Guinea, and even the N.W. point of that island is at least sixty leagues from the S.W. leg or peninsula of Gilolo, to which the direction of his course certainly points.—E.

was at E. we resolved to look out for some passage among these islands to the south. After infinite difficulty and much danger, we at length made our way through a strait, which we named *St John's Straits*, after the name of our bark. At this time we were boarded by a large Indian proa, on board of which was a freeman of Amboina, whom we acquainted with our great want of victuals, having had nothing for a great while to support us except a scanty allowance of spoilt flour and water, and so very little of that as hardly sufficed to keep us alive. He told us, if we would go to the island of *Manissa*, which was then in sight, he would be our pilot, where he had no doubt we might have enough of rice for our money to carry us to Batavia. We accordingly proceeded for Manissa, passing by the island of *Keylan*, which is small and high, but well inhabited, and clothed with many kinds of trees. Its chief produce is rice, and a few cloves; and on this island there is a Dutch corporal with six soldiers, whose only business is to see all the clove trees cut down and destroyed. From thence we proceeded to Manissa, where we arrived about midnight, and came to anchor in a small bay at the N.W. end of the island, when our Dutch pilot sent two men ashore with a letter to the governor, acquainting him of our urgent wants.

Early of the 23d May, a Dutch corporal and two soldiers came on board, and read to us a general order from the Dutch East-India Company, That if any ships, except their own, came there to anchor, they were not to be supplied with any thing whatever. We told him that extreme want of provisions had constrained us to put in here, and that we should not have touched any where before reaching Batavia, if we could possibly have subsisted; wherefore we requested he would inform the governor of our urgent wants. This he engaged to do, seeing us in a very weak condition, and came back about four in the afternoon, saying that we could have no provisions here, but might be supplied at Amboina. We were forced therefore to leave this unfriendly place, and to attempt going to Amboina, if the wind would serve. *Manissa* is about fifteen miles from S.E. to N.W. and about eight in breadth, in lat. 3° 25′ S. and about twenty miles west from the island of *Bonoa*. It is a remarkably high island, and pretty well inhabited by Malays, as are all the Molucca Islands. It is surrounded by shoals almost on every side, and some of these stretch a league and a half from the shore

shore, so that it is very dangerous to come near, unless with very good charts, or with an experienced pilot. It has several good springs of fresh water, and the Dutch have a small fort with six guns on its S.W. side. It is governed by a Dutch serjeant, having under him three corporals, a master gunner, and twenty European soldiers; and produces vast plenty of rice and cloves, both of which are sent to Amboina. The inhabitants are mostly fishers, and catch such abundance of fish as not only supplies themselves, but enables them also to carry a great deal to Amboina.

We stood to the S.W. having the wind at S.S.E. and blowing fresh, so that we sailed under our courses, and were now much out of heart, not expecting to reach Amboina, the S.E. monsoon being now set in, which was right against us. Almost in despair, we continued our course till we were over against the island of *Bouro*, and then the wind veering to the S.S.W. we stood away S.E. but finding a strong current setting to leeward, we rather lost ground, and seeing no likelihood of getting to Amboina, we, by general consent, shared among us all that was eatable on board, each man's share being six pounds and three quarters of flour, and five pounds of bran, every one resolving to use his share as sparingly as possible. On the 25th, the wind veered to S.S.E. when we tacked to S.W. and soon weathered the island of *Amblow*. This is a small island of moderate height, in lat. 4° 5′ S. tolerably furnished with trees, but not inhabited. On the 26th, we had a fine fresh gale at S.E. when we tacked and stood away N.E. for the island of Amboina. Continuing the same course all the 27th, we got sight of Amboina early in the morning of the 28th, bearing due N. about six leagues distant. We now stood directly for the island, and about noon came just off the harbour, a joyful sight to us then, though we soon had cause to think it the worst thing that had befallen us.

As we entered the harbour of Amboina, we met two Dutch ships coming out, laden with cloves and bound for Batavia. The captain of one of these came on board our bark, desiring to know whence we came and whither we were bound, and required to have a journal of our voyage, promising to return it when he again met us at Batavia. We gave him the best answers we could to all his questions, and the agent of our owners gave him a succinct relation of our voyage, which was of happy consequence to us, as to that we afterwards owed

owed our preservation, as will appear in the sequel. We stood into the harbour that night, and next morning, which, according to our account, was Tuesday, but with the Dutch Wednesday, two Dutch *orambies*, as they call the vessels used at that place, came on board us, each of which was paddled by forty men. In these vessels came the fiscal and several Dutch gentlemen, with eighty soldiers, who immediately took possession of our bark. They also went below and sealed up all our chests, after which the two orambies towed us farther into the harbour, so that by noon we were up as high as the town of Amboina, where they moored our bark in the ordinary anchorage.

We continued on board till the 31st, two days, not knowing how they meant to dispose of us; in which time they would not supply us with any victuals, though we offered a crown a pound for beef, pork, or bread. In the evening of this day they took us all on shore, lodging us in two rooms near the Stadt-house, our bark, with all our money and goods, being taken from us, except what we happened to have about our persons, and soon after our vessel and goods were sold by auction. We were fed with bad meat, which our stomachs could ill digest, being very weak with having been so long on short allowance, and if we desired to have better we had to buy it with our own money. Several of us had fortunately some money about us, and as long as that lasted we purchased provisions from our keeper. For a Spanish dollar, which was worth five shillings and a penny, he would only give us five Dutch *skellings*, or the value of about two and six-pence; and even for this he gave us no more victuals than we could have bought for five-pence, if we had been at liberty to go into the town; so that, instead of five shillings for the Spanish dollar, we in reality had only five-pence. During my leisure, I had many opportunities of enquiring into the condition of Amboina, by which I was enabled to draw up a pretty large account of the island and its inhabitants, which I flatter myself will be acceptable to the public, as the Dutch are careful to prevent any accounts of this place from being published.

This *island of Amboina*, so famous, or rather infamous, for the cruelties and injustice formerly committed there by the Dutch upon the English, is twelve leagues long from N. to S. being high and mountainous, with intermediate vallies, which are very fertile, but the hills are in a great measure barren.

barren. The soil of the vallies is black, and affords salt-petre. The middle of the island is in lat. 3° 40′ S. The original inhabitants of the island are Malays, who are of middle stature and tawny complexions. The women are brighter than the men, and have long black hair, reaching to the calves of their legs. They have round faces, with small mouths, noses, and eyes. Their dress is a linen or cotton waistcoat, reaching only below their breasts, and a cloth round their waists, four yards long and a yard broad, which serves as a petticoat, as the Dutch women only are permitted to wear petticoats; neither are any of the men allowed to wear hats, except the king or rajah. The natives are numerous, yet the Dutch possess the whole sea-coast, and have here a strong castle, built of stone, mounted by sixty pieces of cannon, besides several small forts in other parts of the island. Near the castle is a small town of about 100 houses, of stone, brick, or timber, inhabited by the Dutch. None of the houses exceed one storey, as the place is subject to earthquakes, which would endanger the houses if higher, and even low as they are they often fall. While we were there we had a great earthquake for two days, which did much mischief, as the ground opened in several places, and swallowed up several houses with their inhabitants. Several of their people were dug out of the ruins, but most of them dead, and many others had their legs and arms broken by the fall of the houses. Where we were, the ground swelled up like a wave of the sea, but no damage was done.

This island is governed by a council of five, consisting of the governor, the senior merchant, or *ober koop-man*, the Malay king, the captain of the fort, and the fiscal, which last is the judge. There are said to be on the island 350 Dutch soldiers, with 120 or 130 Dutch freemen and petty officers, and about as many Chinese, who reside here for the benefit of trade, though not allowed to participate in the spice trade, which the Dutch reserve entirely to themselves. I thus estimate that the Dutch are able to muster in this island about 550 fighting men, including themselves and the Chinese; for they can count very little on the Malays, who would gladly join any other nation against them. The Malay women are said to be very loose, and not ashamed of having intercourse with men. They are soon ripe, being often married at nine years of age, and are said to have children by ten or eleven. All who reside near the coast must live under the Dutch government,

vernment, which is very dissolute and tyrannical, and they are severely punished for even small faults, being often reduced to slavery, and condemned to wear an iron on their legs for life. Those dwelling near the coast under the controul of the Dutch are a kind of Christians; but those in the interior, among the hills, are Mahometans, and are always at war with the Dutch. When these hill Malays take any prisoners, they never give quarter; but, after detaining their prisoners a few days, without meat or drink, they are produced in public, and have their breasts ripped open, and their hearts taken out, all the Malays present making great rejoicings. The heads of these slaughtered prisoners are then embalmed with spice, and those who can shew the greatest number of Dutch heads are held in highest honour. In retaliation, when the Dutch take any of these hill Malays, they load them with irons, and after keeping them some days in prison, they cut off their ears and noses, and after being kept some time longer in prison, they are publicly racked to death.

When any of the Malays, living under the Dutch government, are found guilty of thieving, their ears and noses are cut off, and a great iron chain is fastened to their legs, in which condition they are made slaves for life. While we were there, about 500 poor wretches were in this condition, who were kept constantly employed, in sawing timber, cutting stones for building, carrying burdens, or other work. They are let out of prison at sunrise, the men being kept in one prison and the women in another, and are kept hard at work till noon, when they return to prison for an hour, being allowed for dinner a pint of coarse boiled rice for each. They return again to work at one o'clock, and return to prison at six in the evening, when they have a similar allowance for supper. Soon afterwards they are locked up in their lodgings, where they lie on the bare boards, having only a piece of wood for a pillow. Sometimes these poor wretches make shift to escape, but are used with great severity if again caught. One of the female slaves having escaped, and being retaken, cut her own throat to avoid the severe punishment awaiting her, when she was dragged out by the hair all round the town, and then hung on a gibbet by the feet. Such as are in debt, and cannot satisfy their creditors, are turned over by their creditors to the Dutch company, who send

them to work among their slaves, having the same allowance of boiled rice with the rest, with two-pence a day towards paying their debts; but they seldom get free till carried out dead.

Though the poor natives are thus harshly treated, the Dutch wink at the faults of their countrymen, who are seldom punished for any crime, unless it be for murder, as in any other case they get off for a small sum of money, even for a great fault. The women slaves belonging to the free Dutch burgesses have all reasonable indulgence, but are obliged to find their own clothes and provisions, and pay an acknowledgement of about a sixpence daily, in default of which they are severely used. If they bring the daily tribute, they may whore or steal, and have no questions asked, provided no complaint is made against them. The chief products of this island are cloves, ginger, pepper, rattans, canes, and a few nutmegs.

The clove-tree is rather slender, and is from twelve to thirty or even forty feet high, having small branches, with tapering leaves about five inches long and two broad, which smell strong of cloves, when rubbed between the fingers. The cloves grow out at the tips of the branches, ten, twelve, or fourteen in a cluster, being white at first, then green, and lastly of a dark copper colour, in which state they are ripe and fit for gathering. At this period, they spread cloths or sheets on the ground round the bottom of the tree to a good distance, and shake the tree, when all the ripe cloves fall down. This is repeated every six or seven days for four or five times, till all the cloves have ripened and are shaken off. The usual time of gathering is October and February, those got in October, which is the end of their winter, being called *winter cloves*, and are not accounted so strong and good as the others. These are commonly preserved in small jars of about a quart each, of which great quantities are sent to various parts of the world. Those gathered in February are termed *summer cloves*, being better and stronger than the others, as ripening in the best part of the summer; whereas the former have not above a month of fair weather, all the rest of their winter season, which is our summer, being rainy and cloudy, so that the cloves want sun to ripen them. It is a common opinion, but extremely erroneous, that cloves, nutmegs, and mace grow all on one tree. One clove-tree commonly

monly produces sixty, seventy, or eighty pounds of cloves in one season; and every sixth year they are sure to have a double crop.

There are a vast number of clove-trees on this island, which are carefully looked after, and a register of them is kept in the books of the company, being all numbered once every year, and they are not allowed to increase beyond a certain limited number, for fear of lessening the price, all beyond being cut down. All these trees belong to the Company, or the free burgesses, every burgess having only a fixed number; and if any one is found to have more than his allowance, he is severely fined, and all his trees forfeited to the company. Besides, the burgesses are bound to deliver the whole produce of their trees to the company at six-pence the pound. If any freeman or other is convicted of having sold or conveyed cloves from the island, to the value of ten pounds, his whole property is forfeited to the company, and he becomes a slave for life. The inhabitants used formerly to cheat the Dutch in the sale of their cloves, in the following manner. They hung up their cloves in a large sheet by the four corners, and set a large tub of water underneath, which the cloves, being of a very hot and dry nature, drew up by degrees, and thus made a large addition to their weight. But the Dutch are now too cunning for them, as they always try the cloves, by giving them a small filip on the head with the forefinger: if thoroughly ripe, and no deceit has been used, the head breaks off like a piece of thin brittle glass; but if watered, the clove is tough, and will sooner bend than break.

The *nutmeg-tree* is much like the peach, and there are a few of these in this island, but they grow mostly on the island of Banda, whence two or three ship-loads are exported yearly. The fruit of this tree consists of four parts. The first and outer rind is like that of a green walnut. The second, which we call *mace*, is dry and thin. The third is a tough thin shell, like that of a chesnut; and the fourth is the *nutmeg*, being the kernel included in that shell.

There are said to be some gold-mines in the island of Amboina; and a Malay once shewed me some of the ore, which, he said, came from these mines: but he said, at the same time, that he would be severely punished if the Dutch knew of his having any, as they wish, as much as possible, to keep this from the knowledge of all other Europeans.

Once

Once every year the Dutch have to send a large force from Amboina on the following business, about the 20th of October. On this occasion the governor is attended by about seventy-five *orambies*, or boats of the country, some rowed by 100 paddles, some eighty, fifty, or forty paddles each, and in each of which there are two Dutch soldiers. I reckon therefore in this fleet 150 to 160 Dutch soldiers, and about 5250 Malays, allowing seventy to each *oramby* on the average. These seventy-five *orambies* are divided into three squadrons. The van-division of twenty *orambies*, is always commanded by a member of the council, who carries a yellow flag. The rear-squadron consists also of twenty *orambies*, and is commanded by the fiscal, having a red flag. The rest form the centre-squadron, and attend the governor, who has a serjeant and corporal, with twelve Dutch soldiers, for his body guard, and carries a blue flag. The governor is also attended by the Malay king and all their princes or chiefs, lest they should rebel in his absence. In this order the fleet proceeds to visit and victual the eastern, or Banda islands, especially those that produce cloves or nutmegs; and at every island it goes to, it is joined by additional boats. This cruize generally lasts for six weeks, during which they cut down and destroy all the clove and nutmeg-trees they can find, except those which are reserved for the use of the company. All or most of these islands would produce cloves, but they will not suffer them, having enough at Amboina alone to supply all Europe. On all of these islands the Dutch keep a few soldiers, three, six, nine, or twelve, according to their size, whose only business is to see the trees cut down, or at least to take care that they do not increase; as they are very jealous lest the English or French should serve them as they did the English at Amboina. During this annual expedition, the governor levies tribute from all the petty kings and chiefs of these islands, and commonly returns to Amboina at the end of six weeks.

The island of Amboina produces beavers, hogs, and deer, besides other animals. Among its birds are crocadores, cassawaries, birds of paradise, and others. The *crocadore*, or *cockatoo*, is of various sizes, some as large as a hen, and others no bigger than a pigeon, being all over white, except a crest of feathers on the top of their head, which is always either yellow or red. This bunch of feather usually lies flat, in a dent, or hollow, on the crown of the head, unless when the

the bird is frightened, when it is erected, and opens like a fan. The flesh and legs of this bird are very black, and they smell very sweet. When they fly up and down the woods, they cry *crocadore*, *crocadore*, or *cockatoo*, *cockatoo*, whence their name. The *cassowary* is as large as a Virginia turkey, having a head nearly the same with the turkey, with a long stiff bunch of hair on his breast, also like the turkey. His legs are almost as thick as a man's wrist, having five great claws on each foot. The back is high and round, both it and the pinions being covered with long hair instead of feathers. The female of this bird lays an egg so large that its shell will hold an English pint of fluid, having a thick shell, spotted with green and white, and exactly like China-ware. I never tasted the eggs of this bird, but its flesh is good eating, resembling that of a turkey, but stronger.

The *birds of paradise* are about the size of pigeons, and are never seen here alive, neither is it known whence they come. I have seen several of them at Amboina preserved in spice, in which state they are sent as rarities to several parts of the world. These birds are said to resort, in February and March, when the nutmegs are ripe, to Banda and Amboina, where they feed on the outer rind of the nutmeg, after which they fall to the ground, quite stupified, or as it were dead drunk, when innumerable ants gather about them, and eat them up. There are here many kinds of fish, but the most remarkable is the *sea-porcupine*, which is about three feet long, and two and a half feet round, having large eyes, two fins on the back, and a large fin on each side, near the gills. Its body is all beset with sharp spines, or quills, like a porcupine, whence its name is derived.

All round Amboina the bottom is sand, but the water is so deep that there is no anchorage near its shores, except to leeward, or on the west side, where a ship may anchor in forty fathoms, close to the shore in the harbour. This harbour runs so deep into the island as almost to divide it into two, which are joined by so narrow a neck of land that the Malays often haul their canoes across. On the east side of the entry into the harbour there is a small fort of six guns, close to which the depth is twenty fathoms. About a league farther up is the usual anchorage for ships, close under the guns of the great castle, which has been called *Victoria* ever since the massacre of the English at this place. About two miles farther to the N.E. and within the harbour, is the

place

place where the English factory formerly stood; and near it is the hole into which the English were said to have been thrown after the massacre. Few of us who were now here but expected the same fate; and some of the inhabitants did not scruple to say that our only protection was our journal, which had been sent to Batavia by the Dutch ship we met when going into the harbour; as by this it would soon be known all over India that a part of Captain Dampier's crew had arrived at Amboina, which would cause us to be enquired after.

A little to the eastward of Amboina there are several other small islands, the most noted of which are *Boangbessay* and *Hinomsa*, only a small distance east from Amboina. These two islands are moderately high, and not above a third part so large as Amboina. They are both well fortified, and produce store of cloves. The chief place for nutmegs is the island of *Banda*, which also belongs to the Dutch, being in lat. 4° 20′ S. 28 leagues S.S.E. from Amboina. This island is said to have the form of a man's leg and foot, and is well fortified. The governor of Amboina is supreme over all the spice islands, even to *Ternate* and *Tidore*, which are also spice islands belonging to the Dutch, and are about forty miles to the north of the equator. We were so troubled at Amboina by musquitoes, a sort of gnats, that we had every night to put ourselves into a bag before we could go to sleep, as otherwise these insects bit us so intolerably that we could get no rest. Wherever they bit, there commonly rose a red blister, almost as broad as a silver penny, which itched so violently that many cannot forbear from scratching, so as to cause inflammations that sometimes aid in the loss of a limb. During our stay, we were allowed to walk in a paved yard about sixty yards square; but were not permitted to go into the town, that we might not learn their strength, or make any discoveries prejudicial to them.

We remained at Amboina from the 31st of May to the 14th of September, 1705, when three of their sloops were ready to sail with cloves to Batavia, in which twenty-five of our men were sent away to Batavia, ten of us being left behind, who they said were to be sent in another vessel, almost ready to sail. On the 27th September, a Malay man was brought to the Stadt-house to be tried for his life, being accused by his own wife of having murdered his slave. The slave had been dead six months, when the wife falling out with

with her husband, she went to the fiscal in the heat of her rage and revealed the murder, on which the husband was thrown into prison, but it was generally believed that he was wrongfully accused by his wife. During his trial the earthquake took place, formerly mentioned, which made the court break up, fearful the house might fall on their heads. At this time I observed that it is an error to suppose that it is always calm during an earthquake; for we had a fine fresh gale at S.S.W. both days on which the earthquake happened. Next day the court sat about eleven o'clock, continuing the trial; and while the wife was in her greatest violence in the accusation of her husband, the earth shook again with much violence, which obliged the court again to break up.

That same day, the 28th September, I and four more of our men were sent off for Batavia in a Chinese sloop, the other five men being promised to be sent after us in a short time, but we never heard of them afterwards. We sailed westwards till we came to the island of Lancas, in lat. 5°.27′ S. and by my estimation, 2° 21′, or 155 miles W. from Amboina. We then steered W. by N. till we made two islands called the *Cabeses*, whence we procured some hundred cocoa nuts. The eastermost island, to which we sent our boat, is low and uninhabited, but has been planted full of cocoa-nut trees by the Dutch, for the use of their vessels going between the spice islands and Batavia, as it is a kind of miracle to see any other ship in these parts except those belonging to the Dutch. Off this island we met our own bark which had brought us from America to Amboina, the Dutch having fitted her up with a main-mast and converted her into a very good vessel. This island is in lat. 5° 23′ S. and nearly W. by N. from the island of *Lancas*, about forty-five miles distant, and has a shoal extending about two miles from the shore. To the S.W. of this is the other island of *Cabeses*, a pretty high island, on which the Dutch always keep a corporal and two soldiers, who go two or three times all over the isle to see that no cloves are planted, and if they find any to cut them down and burn them, lest any other nation might be able to procure that commodity, in which case Amboina would become of little value, as cloves are its only valuable product.

We next passed by the S. end of the island of *Bouton*, or *Booton*, which is pretty large, and in the lat. of 5° 45′ S. We steered

steered W. from thence, between the islands *Celebes* and *Zalayer* or *Salayr*. The S.W. leg or peninsula of Celebes is very high land. Celebes is composed of very high land, very well inhabited, bring a very large island, extending through seven degrees of latitude. On the west side of its southern end the Dutch have a factory named Macasser, where they have a fortress of about seventy guns, and a garrison of 600 or 700 Dutch soldiers. The chief product is rice, with which they supply most of their eastern islands from hence. There are said to be gold-mines in this island, of which the Dutch are not yet masters, as the inhabitants are often at war with them, and have hitherto been able to keep them from those parts of the island. Between the south end of Celebes and the island of Salayr there are three small low islands, and the best channel is through between the island next to Salayr, and another small isle to the northward. This is called the *second* passage, the first, third, and fourth of these passages being very dangerous, so that ships generally avoid them if possible. I would willingly give an account of every island I have occasion to mention, but as that is not in my power, I must rest satisfied with what I am able to say consistent with truth.

The island of *Zalayer*, or *Salayr*, is of moderate height, inhabited by Malays, and planted all round with cocoa-trees, the natives being obliged to send a considerable quantity of nuts and oil to the Dutch at Macasser as tribute. We steered from hence W. by N. till we had passed a dangerous shoal called the Porill, after which we stood to the S.W. and saw in the night a small island just in our way, which we were unable to weather, and therefore stood off till daylight, when we were to the S. of that isle, when we tacked and stood again S.W. and soon after saw two other small isles bearing from N. to N.W. For about two miles of our course at this time, the sea was so transparent that we could plainly discern the bottom, which was never less than five or more than six fathoms, yet appeared only two to the eye. We passed over this shoal about a league to the S. of these two small islands, this being the narrowest part of the shoal, for it is five or six leagues in breadth farther to the south; yet is it every where without danger, as it has very uniform soundings, seldom over or under five or six fathoms. To the north of these islands, however, it is very dangerous, being all over foul rocky ground, and having in some places not

not more than four or five feet water; it is proper, therefore, always to keep to the south of these islands, where the passage is perfectly safe. Yet in the Dutch charts, these dangers are laid down to the southward, which should have been to the northwards, and they lay down the safe shoals to the northward, whereas we now went to the southwards, as they always do. The captain of our vessel had a chart on board, which shewed these things exactly as I have now described, but which I compared with several others, also on board, which I found quite different. I asked our captain the reason of this, when he told me that all these shoals and dangerous places were well known to the Hollanders, but they did not wish they should be known by others, but rather that strangers might lose their ships among these rocks and shoals, as we certainly had done, if we had sailed according to these common charts.

We entered the harbour of Batavia on the 21st October, and sent immediately on landing to join the rest of our men, who were still detained in custody. We were soon afterwards visited by the first major, who desired us to transmit to the general, through him, an account of the losses we had sustained by our being taken prisoners at Amboina, and we should receive compensation for our effects, loss of time, and imprisonment. We each accordingly drew up accounts of our losses, which we sent by the major to the governor, who sent us back word that we should speedily have our freedom. On the 27th we were sent for to the fort, where most of our money was returned; but we could have no satisfaction for our goods, imprisonment, and loss of time, the governor-general saying that he had given us all that had been sent to him as ours by the governor of Amboina, and that we were now at liberty to go where we pleased. As our vessel had been taken from us for the use of the Dutch Company, we desired he would be pleased to find us some ship for our return home, which he promised; with which arrangement we were forced to be satisfied, and took lodgings in the city of Batavia, till an opportunity might offer for our return to Europe. In the course of seven weeks residence here, I made all the observations I could upon this place and its inhabitants. I found the city in as good a condition as could be wished, and the people seemed to be as prudent and as industrious as any I had ever seen: But, as the descriptions already published of this place are so exact as to render

render my observations superfluous, I shall content myself with a very short description, referring the curious reader to the large accounts that have been published by Dutch, French, and English writers, but especially the first.

BATAVIA is the chief place belonging to the Hollanders in India, and receives all the productions of India, Japan, and China. The Malays are the original natives; but besides these and the Dutch, who are the masters, it is inhabited by Portuguese, Chinese, Persians, and negroes. The town is large and handsome, having seven churches, belonging to the Dutch, Portuguese, Malays, and Chinese.[4] The town has many spacious houses built in the European manner, and is walled and moated all round, the ramparts being well provided with cannon. In the middle of the city there is a spacious square, in which is the stadt-house, where all public matters are transacted. This city is usually governed by a member of the States-General of the United Netherlands, with the title of Governor-General of India, all other governors of the possessions belonging to the Dutch Company being subordinate to his authority. The inhabitants are well pleased in the governor-general being often changed, as all prisoners are released at the installation of a new one, except those charged with murder. He has twelve counsellors to assist him, who are called the *rads*, or lords of India, and are mostly such as have formerly been governors in other places, as in Ceylon, Amboina, Malacca, &c.

The city is divided by many canals, over which there are bridges almost at the end of every street, together with booms to lay across, that no boats may go in or out after sunset. The chief product of the adjoining country is pepper, of which the Dutch export great quantities every year; and there are also some few diamonds and other precious stones. The chief fruits here are plantains, bananas, oranges, lemons, mangostans, and rumbostans. The *mangostan* is about the size of a golden rennet, quite round, and resembling a small pomegranate, the outer rind being like that of the pomegranate, but of a darker colour, but the inside of the rind of a fine red. The fruit lies within the rind, commonly in four or five cloves, of a fine white, very soft and juicy,

4 This seems to indicate that, of the seven *churches*, some belong to the Dutch Calvinists and Portuguese Roman Catholics, while others are Mahometan places of worship for the Malays, and idol temples, or *pagodas*, frequented by the Chinese.—E

juicy, within each clove having a small black stone or pip. The pulp is very delicious, but the stone is very bitter, and is therefore thrown away, after sucking the fruit. The *rumbostan* is about the size of a walnut after the green outside peel is off, and is nearly of the shape of a walnut, having a thick tough outer rind of a deep red colour, full of red knobs, within which is a white jelly-like pulp, and within that is a large stone. The pulp is very delicate, and never does any harm, however much of it a man may eat, providing he swallow the stones; but otherwise they are said to produce fevers.

This island of Java, on the north side of which Batavia is situated, extends about ten degrees from east to west, or nearly 700 English miles. The weather is here extremely regular, and the inhabitants know how to use it to the best advantage. During the eastern monsoon, the land-winds are at S.E. Sometimes more southerly; and the sea-winds blow from the N.E. fine pleasant gales. This easterly monsoon is accounted the good monsoon, being fine clear and fair weather, and begins in April, ending in October. The other, or westerly, is called the bad monsoon, consisting of blustering rainy weather, accompanied with much thunder and lightning, especially in December, January, and February. This bad monsoon begins in November and ends in March or the beginning of April; during which the land-winds are W.S.W. or S.W. and the sea-winds at N.W. and W.N.W.

The anchoring ground all along the north side of Java, from Madura to Batavia, is a fine oozy bottom, free from rocks. The principal places on this side of the island are Batavia, Bantam, Japara, Samarang, Surabon, Taggal, Quale, and Rambang; all of which are possessed by the Dutch. These settlements afford abundance of rice, with which the Dutch supply all their out-factories near Java, and also produce excellent plank for ship-building. The principal place for ship-building is *Rambang*, where the free burgesses of Batavia usually go to build their small vessels, as sloops and brigs. Ships of five, six, and seven hundred tons, often load with timber at Rambang, Quale, Japara, and other places; and each ship, after being fully laden, takes a great raft or float of the largest timber, which she tows along with her to Batavia. Some of these rafts are said to be thirty feet square, and draw twenty feet water. There are

commonly

commonly six ships employed in this timber trade, and they usually make four voyages yearly in the good monsoon, for in the bad they cannot do any thing. All this timber is for the most part landed on the island of *Omrust*, between four and five leagues from Batavia, where there are about 200 ship-carpenters, who are constantly in full employ, and here the Dutch careen their ships. This island is well fortified, being, to use a sea phrase, all round a bed of guns.

We had notice on the 2d December, 1705, that all of us who wished to return to England should immediately go on board the homeward-bound Dutch East India fleet, which we did accordingly, and sailed next day. This fleet consisted of twelve ships, as well provided in all respects as any I had ever seen, and we made the voyage in good order. We arrived at the Cape of Good Hope on the 3d February, 1706. The Dutch have here a strong fortress, and about half a mile from this is a fine town of 150 houses, with a small church. The country in the neighbourhood is very high, and the mountains are mostly barren, producing only a few shrubs; but the country is full of lions, tigers, elephants, and other wild beasts, which give great disturbance to the settlers, for which reason the government gives a reward of fifty-two guilders for killing a lion, equal to four pounds six and eight-pence, and twenty-four guilders, or forty shillings, for killing a tiger. While we were there, a certain Scotsman killed four lions, three tigers, and three wild elephants, for all of which he got the rewards. The Dutch make here a great quantity of an excellent wine, called Cape wine, which is sold by retail at eight-pence a quart.

We sailed from the Cape the 24th of March, excellently provided with every thing requisite for the voyage. We were now twenty-four sail, having nine English and fifteen Dutch ships. On the 17th April we made the island of Ascension, but did not touch there even for turtle, although their season of laying, having been so well provided with fresh provisions at the Cape that we had no occasion for more. On the 19th there happened a great earthquake, when the ship seemed for some time as if she run along the ground, on which we heaved the lead on both sides, but had no ground at 200 fathoms. The whole fleet felt the shock at the same time; so that for about ten minutes every ship was making signals and firing guns. On the 14th June we saw

saw four sail of French privateers, which were waiting for us; but after looking at us for some time, and observing the regular order in which we sailed, they did not think it adviseable to make any attempt against us, and bore away. This shewed the great advantage of the regular order observed by the Dutch in sailing, in which on this occasion they were imitated by the English ships in company.

On the 30th June we were in lat. 62° 40′ N. the highest north I was ever in, and I could not help noticing the great difference in point of cold here and in 60° S. There we had continual showers of snow or hail, with bitter cold weather; while here the weather was fair, and the cold moderate. In the evening of the 3d July we saw the Faro Islands. On the 5th we met with eight Dutch men of war, which were cruizing on purpose to convoy us safe home, accompanied by four victuallers and three of the Company's privateers. On the 15th July we all arrived safely in the Texel, and got on the 17th to Amsterdam. After this, I and the rest of our company went to see several parts of Holland, and we arrived on the 26th August, 1706, in England, after many dangers by sea and land, being only 18 of us out of 183. The news of our misfortunes reached home before us, and every body was solicitous to have an account of our adventures, especially while under the power of the Dutch at Amboina. These importunities led me to believe that a faithful relation of our voyage would be acceptable to the public, and I hope some of the descriptions, observations, and discoveries contained in this small performance may be found useful, and not altogether destitute of entertainment.

SECTION III.

Brief Account of Stradling, Clipperton, and Dampier, after their respective Separations, till their Returns to England.

THE reader may remember that Captain Dampier, in the St George, left *Captain Stradling* in the Cinque-ports on the 19th of May, 1704, at King's Island, in the Bay of Panama. The force under Captain Stradling was too insignificant to maintain him long in the South Sea, for which reason he went to the island of Juan Fernandez in search of shelter and refreshments. They were in so forlorn a condition

tion at this time, that Alexander Selkirk[1] chose rather to remain by himself in that island, than to run the hazard of returning to the South Sea in the Cinque-ports. In this he shewed great judgment, as the Cinque-ports actually foundered on the coast of *Barbacora* (Barbacoas), and only Captain Stradling, with six or seven of his men, were saved, and sent prisoners to Lima. Captain Stradling was alive there at the time when Woods Rogers came into the South Sea, but what became of him afterwards is unknown.

The next person who left Captain Dampier was his mate, *Mr Clipperton*, of whom we shall have occasion to say much in a succeeding voyage round the world. Clipperton was certainly a man of parts and resolution, and probably would not have deserted from Captain Dampier, if he had not thought that his commander was resolved to remain in his old crazy ship in the South Sea till she foundered. Finding many of the crew of the same opinion, he thought proper to leave him at the middle islands, as already related, where it was plain to every one that the St George was no longer fit for going to sea. Mr Clipperton set sail on the 2d September, 1704, having twenty-one men, in a small bark of ten tons, with two masts and two square sails, two swivels, two or three barrels of powder, and some shot. With this inconsiderable force, he ventured into Rio Leon, on the coast of Mexico, where he took two Spanish ships riding at anchor. One of these was very old and worm-eaten, which he immediately sunk. The other was new, and had goods on board to a considerable value, and for her Captain Clipperton demanded a ransom of 10,000 dollars, by two of his prisoners whom he set on shore. The prisoners spoke so handsomely of Clipperton that the governor resolved to treat with him, and sent him word that he did not think his offer unreasonable, but the owners were entirely ruined, and the town so poor that it was impossible to comply with his terms; but if 4000 dollars would content him, which was all they could raise, that sum should be sent aboard, and the governor would rely on the honour of Captain Clipperton for the release of the ship. Clipperton accepted this proposal, but as his bark was in want of provisions and water, he sent word

[1] This person, on whose simple adventures the romance of Robinson Crusoe was soon afterwards founded, will be more particularly mentioned in a subsequent chapter of this book.—E.

word to the governor, that every kind of provisions and drink were not to be considered as within the capitulation. This was readily agreed to, the money was sent on board, and as soon as the provisions were got out of her, the ship was honourably restored.

Clipperton went thence to the Bay of Salinas, where his little vessel was drawn on shore, and cleaned and effectually refitted, after which he resolved in this cockle-shell to sail for the East Indies, which he actually did, keeping in the latitude of 18° N. and reached the Philippine Islands in fifty-four days. While among these islands, a Spanish priest came off to his bark in a canoe, and Clipperton detained him till furnished with a supply of fresh provisions, and then set him at liberty. His next scheme was to sail for the English settlement of Pulo Condore, in lat. 8° 40′ N. off the river of Cambadia, and actually came there: But finding that the English had been massacred by their Indian soldiers on the 3d March, 1705, for which reason no relief or safety could be expected there, he bore away for Macao, a port belonging to the Portuguese on the coast of China, where he and his people separated, every one shifting for himself as well as they could. Some went to *Benjar*,[2] in order to enter into the service of the English East India Company, while others went to Goa to serve the Portuguese, and some even entered into the service of the Great Mogul, being so bare after so long a voyage, that any means of providing for themselves were desirable. Clipperton returned to England in 1706, and afterwards made another voyage round the world in the Success, of which an account will be found in its proper place.

It is not easy to conceive a worse situation than that in which Captain Dampier was left at the close of the year 1704, when Mr Funnell and his people separated from him, being only able to retain twenty-eight of his men, and even these were prevailed upon to stay, by representing that it was easy to surprise some Spanish village, and that the fewer they were, each would have the greater share in the plunder. After some consultation, they resolved to attack Puna, a hamlet or village of thirty houses and a small church, the inhabitants of which are well to pass, and are under the command

[2] This is perhaps an error for Bombay; yet it may have been Benjarmassin, on the southern coast of Borneo.—E.

command of a lieutenant. Dampier landed here in a dark night, and, surprizing the inhabitants in their beds, got possession of the place with very little trouble.

After plundering this town, they repaired to the island of *Lobos de la Mar*, and took a small Spanish bark by the way, well furnished with provisions. They now resolved to quit their own ship, and to endeavour to sail for the East Indies in this small bark; and accordingly left the St George at anchor under the island of Lobos, after taking every thing valuable out of her. They then sailed across the Pacific Ocean to the East Indies, and arrived at the Dutch settlements, where their bark was seized, and they were turned adrift to shift for themselves as they best might. Dampier returned naked to his owners, with a melancholy relation of his unfortunate expedition, occasioned chiefly by his own strange temper, being so self-sufficient and overbearing that few or none of his officers could bear with him; and when once disputation gets in among those who have the command, success is not to be expected. Even in this distress, he was received as an eminent man, notwithstanding his failings, and was introduced to Queen Anne, having the honour to kiss her hand, and to give her majesty some account of the dangers he had undergone. The merchants were so sensible of his want of conduct, that they resolved never to trust him any more with a command; and this, with the poverty resulting from his late unlucky voyage, obliged him to make the tour of the world once more as pilot to the Duke, commanded by Captain Woods Rogers, the relation of which voyage forms the subject of next Section.

CHAPTER X.

VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD BY CAPTAIN WOODS ROGERS, AND STEPHEN COURTNEY, IN 1708-1711.[1]

INTRODUCTION.

IT has been universally allowed by all competent judges, that there never was a voyage of this nature so excellently adjusted or so well provided in all respects, as the present, or in which the accidents that usually happen in privateers were so effectually guarded against; owing to the abilities of the gentlemen at Bristol, who both charged themselves with the expence of fitting out this expedition, and took care of every thing relating to its being properly fitted out. Their first care was in the choice of proper officers, in which they were very fortunate. Captain Woods Rogers, who had the chief command, being a bold, active, and indefatigable officer, not too ready to give up his opinion to others, and not apt to be flattered by other people giving up theirs to him. He had been a great sufferer by the French; but his most singular qualities, and which chiefly recommended him to the command of this expedition, were a peculiar felicity in maintaining authority over his seamen, and a wonderful readiness in devising expedients under the most difficult circumstances.

Captain Stephen Courtney, the second in command, was a gentleman of birth, fortune, and amiable character, who had contributed considerably to the expence of the voyage, and went in the expedition that he might see how it was conducted, and either be able to prevent miscarriages, or at least to make a faithful report of its incidents. Captain Thomas Dover, the third in command, was a proprietor also. He was bred a physician, and afterwards made a noise in the

[1] A Cruizing Voyage round the World, &c. by Captain Woods Rogers, 8vo. London, 1712. Voyage to the South Sea, and round the World, &c. by Captain Edward Cooke, 2 vol. 8vo. London, 1712. Harris, I. 150. Callender, III. 231.

the world by recommending the use of crude mercury. He was a man of rough temper, and could not easily agree with those about him, yet his morose disposition hindered him from making any party to support him in his ill humours. Captain Cooke, fourth in command, was second to Captain Courtney. The pilot in the larger ship was Captain William Dampier, who was now to proceed for the fourth time into the South Sea, where his name and exploits were well known and terrible to the Spaniards. The adventurers were also extremely careful in the choice of inferior officers, and even as far as possible in procuring the best private men that could be found.

In the next place, the proprietors established rules for the proper conduct of the voyage, which were digested in the following articles of instruction, and signed by a committee of proprietors at Bristol, on the 14th July, 1708.

"For the better government and regulating the affairs of the present voyage of the ships Duke and Duchess, we do hereby appoint and constitute Captain Woods Rogers, Captain Thomas Dover, Captain William Dampier, Mr Charlton Vanbrugh, Messrs Green, Fry, Charles Pope, Glendall, Bullet, and Wasse, all of these officers on board the Duke, to be the council on board that ship: We also appoint Captain Stephen Courtney, Captain Edward Cooke, Messrs William Stratton, Bathe, John Rogers, White, and the master, officers on board the Duchess, to be council on board that ship, in case of the ships being separated from each other. But, when in company, the whole officers of both ships above named, are conjunctly to come on board either ship at the summons of Captains Rogers, Dover, and Courtney, or any two of them, and to be the council referred to in our general orders, to determine all matters and things that may arise or be necessary for the general good during the whole voyage. In case of the death, sickness, or desertion of any of the above officers in either ship, the rest who are of the council of that ship shall convene on board their own ship, and chuse another fit person into that office and council."

"We farther require and direct, that all attempts, attacks, and designs upon the enemy, either by sea or land, shall be first consulted and debated, either in the particular council if separated, or in the general council if together; and as the majority shall conclude how and when to act or do, it shall be indispensably and chearfully put in execution, and without

without unnecessary delay. In case of any discontents, differences, or misbehaviours among the officers and men, which may tend to the disturbance of good order and government on board, either the men or persons may appeal to the captain to have a hearing by a council, or the captain shall call a council to have the matter heard and decided, and may prefer or displace any man according to desert. All decisions and judgments of the council shall be finally determined by the majority of voices; and in case of an equality, Captain Dover is to have a double voice as president, and we do accordingly order and appoint him president of the council. All matters transacted in this council shall be registered in a book by the clerk appointed for that purpose."

It was agreed between the owners and those employed in this voyage, that all prizes were to be divided after the following rule. Two-third parts of the clear profits were to belong to the owners, and one-third to the officers, seamen, and landsmen, which last was to be distributed according to the following proportions.

If wholly on Shares.		*If part on Shares, and part on Wages.*[a]	
	Shares	*Wages.*	*Shares.*
A captain,	24		
Second captain,	20		
First lieutenant,	16	£3	8
Second lieutenant,	10	2 10	5
Third lieutenant,	8	2	4
Master,	10	2 10	5
First mate,	6	2	3
Second mate,	4	1 15	2½
Surgeon,	10	2 10	5
Surgeon's mate,	6	1 10	3
Owner's agent,	10	2 10	5
Pilot,	8	2 10	4
Carpenter,	6	2	3
Carpenter's mate,	4	1 10	2
Boatswain,	6	2	3
Boatswain's mate,	4	1 10	2
Gunner,	6	2	3
Gunner's mate,	3½	1 10	1¾
Cooper,	5	1 10	2½
Cooper's mate,	3½	1 5	1¾
Midshipman,	4	1 10	2

Quarter-

[a] The wages were probably monthly, though not so explained.—E.

	Shares.	Wages.	Shares.
Quarter-master, -	3	1 10 - - -	$1\frac{1}{2}$
Sailors, - -	$2\frac{1}{2}$	1 8 - -	$1\frac{1}{4}$
Land-men, - -	$1\frac{1}{2}$	14 - -	$0\frac{3}{4}$

"We have two relations of this voyage, one by Captain Rogers, and the other by Captain Cooke, both in the form of journals. On the present occasion I shall chiefly follow that written by Captain Woods Rogers, taking occasionally explanatory circumstances and descriptions from Captain Cooke: But as they agree pretty well in their relations, I do not think it necessary to break the thread of the discourse, but shall proceed as near as may be in the words of Captain Rogers."—*Harris.*

Besides using as the ground-work of the present chapter, the narrative drawn up by Harris from the publications of Captain Woods Rogers and Edward Cooke, we have carefully employed both of these original works on the present occasion; yet have not deemed it at all necessary or adviseable to retain the minute and tedious nautical remarks, and have chiefly attended to such interesting circumstances as had not been sufficiently illustrated in the preceding chapters of this book.—E.

Section I.

Narrative of the Voyage, from England to the Island of Juan Fernandez.

Our force on this voyage consisted of the Duke of 300 tons, carrying thirty guns and 170 men, Captain Woods Rogers commander, with Captain Thomas Dover as second captain, and three lieutenants; and the Duchess of 270 tons, with twenty-six guns and 150 men, commanded by Captain Stephen Courtney, having Captain Edward Cooke as second captain, and three lieutenants. Both ships had commission from George Prince of Denmark, husband to Queen Anne, and Lord High Admiral of England, to cruize on the coasts of Peru and Mexico in the South Sea, against the French and Spaniards, and to act jointly and separately.

On the 15th June, 1708, we went down to King-road, to fit our ships for sea and the better to keep our men on board, where we continued till the 1st August, when we weighed anchor

anchor and towed down about five miles below the Holmes. We made sail at one next morning, and got into Cork harbour on the 5th August, where we remained till the 27th adjusting all things, taking on board additional men provided there for us, and discharging some we had brought from Bristol, who were found unfit for the voyage. Our complement of men in both ships was now 333, of which above a third were foreigners from most nations, several of her majesty's subjects we had on board being tinkers, tailors, haymakers, pedlars, fiddlers, and the like, with one negro and ten boys; yet we hoped to be well manned with this motley crew, when they had got their sea-legs and had learnt the use of arms. We had double the number of officers usual in privateers, which was meant to prevent mutinies, so usual in long voyages, and to secure a succession in case of deaths. Our holds were so full of provisions, that our cables, and a great deal of our bread and some water casks were between decks, and having 183 men in the Duke, and 151 in the Duchess, we were obliged to send our sheet, cable, and other new store cordage on shore at Cork, to make room for our men and provisions, yet were so much crowded and lumbered that we could not have engaged an enemy, without throwing much provisions and stores overboard.

Having agreed upon signals between our two ships, and appointed places of rendezvous in case of separation, and how long to wait at each for one another, we took sailing orders from the Hastings man of war on the 1st September, the better to keep company of her and a fleet bound to the southward and westward. We sailed that day, and the next we and our consort stood out from the fleet to chase a sail we saw to windward, when we had the satisfaction to find that our ship sailed as well as any in the fleet, not excepting the man of war, so that we hoped we should find our heels, although so deeply laden. We found the chase to be a small vessel coming from Baltimore to join the fleet. On the 4th, Captain Paul of the Hastings proposed to Captain Courtney and me, after he left the fleet, which would be soon, to cruise in company a few days off Cape Finister, and obligingly supplied us with some scrubbers, iron scrapers for the ships bottoms, a speaking-trumpet, and some other things of which we were in want, and would not accept any thing in return, as our voyage was to be so long, saying he hoped our owners would restore the same articles for his ship on his re-

turn.

turn. That evening, calling our crews on deck, we informed them whither we were bound, and the objects of our expedition; that if any disputes or mutinies had arisen, we might have sent home the refractory in the man of war. Only one poor fellow was dissatisfied, who was to have been tithingman that year, and feared his wife might have to pay forty shillings for his default; but seeing all around him pleased with the hope of plunder, he too became easy, and drank as heartily as any one to the success of the voyage.

We gave chase to a ship on the 10th September, about six in the morning, which we came up with about three in the afternoon, when she shewed Swedish colours. On examining the master, we found he had come round Scotland and Ireland, and suspected he had contraband of war, as some of the men, whom we found drunk, told us they had gunpowder and cables on board; wherefore we resolved to examine her strictly, putting twelve of our men on board, and taking the Swedish master and twelve of his men aboard our ships. Next morning, having examined the men and searched the ship, we found it difficult to prove her a legal prize, and, not willing to lose time in carrying her into a port for farther examination, we let her go without embezzlement. She was a frigate-built ship, of about 270 tons, and twenty-two guns, belonging to Stadt, near Hamburgh. The crew of the Duke mutinied, headed by our boatswain and other three inferior officers, alleging the Swede was a good prize, and had much contraband goods on board, though we could find none: but being supported by my officers, well armed, I at length pacified the men, after putting ten of the mutineers in irons, and soundly whipping a sailor who had excited the rest. This mutiny would not have been easily got the better of, but for the number of our officers, whom we now found very useful in bringing our crews under good discipline, a very difficult matter in privateers, and without which it is utterly impossible to succeed in distant and important enterprizes. We sent home Giles Cash, our boatswain, in irons, on board the Crown galley, with letters to our owners, justifying our severity; and next morning I discharged our prisoners from their irons, on their humble submission, and solemn promise of dutiful behaviour in future.

On the 18th, between Fuertaventura and Grand Canary, we chased and took a small Spanish ship, bound from Teneriff to Fuertaventura, having several men and women passengers,

sengers, and laden with a variety of goods. Next day we bore away for Oratavia Roads, where, after much discussion, we sold the vessel for 450 dollars, retaining all her goods. The 30th September we put into the harbour of St Vincent, one of the Cape de Verd islands, coming to anchor in ten fathoms within the rock. Seeing several men on shore, though the island is not inhabited, Captain Cook went in the pinnace, well armed, to see who they were, and found them some Portuguese from St Antonio, come to catch turtles or sea-tortoises, who told him we could have wood and water at this island, which is in lat. 16° 55′ N. long. 24° 50′ W. from Greenwich. It has great plenty of Guinea fowl, with some hogs and goats; and we caught abundance of fish in the road. In the woods there are great numbers of spiders as large as walnuts, and their webs are very troublesome to get through, being very numerous, and as strong as ordinary threads.

While here, new disturbances arose among the men, in relation to the effects taken in the late prize; as we had here an opportunity of purchasing various things, and every one wished to have the means of purchasing. To put an end to all these heart-burnings, and to fix the people in a resolution of doing their duty, we determined to settle this affair by framing such articles as might inspire the seamen with courage and constancy, and make them as willing to obey as the officers to command, without giving our owners any cause of complaint. It cost us some trouble to adjust these articles, but they effectually answered our purpose, and all our people readily agreed to abide by them.

After staying two days here, in which we heeled our ships, and got wood and water on board, our boat returned with limes and tobacco; but our linguist, who had been sent ashore to procure refreshments, did not make his appearance. Soon after there came a boat from that part of the island where the governor resides, on board of which was the deputy-governor, a negro, who brought limes, tobacco, oranges, fowls, potatoes, hogs, bananas, musk-melons, water-melons, and brandy, all of which we bought of him, paying in prize goods we had taken out of the bark at the Canaries, and at a cheap rate; for they are a poor people, and are ready to truck for any thing they want at any price, in such payments as they can make. Being ready to sail, we called a council to consider what was to be done in respect to the absence

sence of our linguist, who had promised the deputy-governor to wait for him at the water-side, but had broke his word; and therefore, as his absence seemed to be entirely his own fault, it was unanimously resolved that we ought to leave him behind, rather than our two ships should wait for one man, who had disobeyed orders. We were the more inclined to this, that others might learn, by this example, to comply with their instructions when sent ashore, and might come aboard again without delay, after completing their business, and not flatter themselves that fair words and fine excuses were to atone for breach of duty, to humour the fancies of individuals, at the expence of delaying the voyage. This was certainly but an indifferent place for our linguist to be left in; but he knew the people and the language, and might easily get a passage home. We persisted therefore in our resolution, and gave orders for sailing as soon as possible, that we might not lose the proper season, and be obliged to double Cape Horn at a wrong time of the year.

Captain Dampier and others in our ships, who had formerly put in at St Jago, another of the Cape Verd islands, said that this island of St Vincent, though not so much frequented, is preferable to St Jago for outward-bound ships, as its road is much better, has better land, and is more convenient for wood and water. The island is mountainous and barren, its plainest part being over against the sandy bay where we anchored. The wood growing upon it is short, and only fit for fuel. We watered at a little stream that flows from a spring down the hill, and is good fresh-water, the others in that neighbourhood being brackish. It was formerly inhabited and had a governor, but is now only frequented by the inhabitants of the other islands in the season for catching turtle, these islanders being mostly negroes and mulattoes, and very poor. The stock of wild goats on this island has been mostly destroyed by the inhabitants of St Nicholas and St Antonio. The heat at this place was so excessive to us, newly from Europe, that several of our men became sick, and were blooded. There are a few wild asses; and some of our officers wounded one, after a long chase, yet he held out, and tired them.

These islands are named from Cape Verd, on the coast of Africa, whence they lie about 170 leagues to the west.[1] They are

[1] The difference of longitude between the cape and islands is seven degrees W. or 140 marine leagues.—E.

are ten in number, of which St Jago, St Nicholas, Bonavista, St Antonio, Brava, Mayo, and Fuego are inhabited. *St Jago* is much the largest and best, and is the seat of the chief governor. Besides sugar and tobacco, this island produces a small quantity of indigo, which, with goat-skins and some other articles, are sent to Lisbon. The capital is named likewise St Jago, and is the see of a bishop. There is another town, named *Ribera grande,* said to consist of 500 houses, which has a good harbour. The air of this island is rather unwholesome, and the soil is very unequal, the vallies producing some corn and wine. The goats are fat and good eating, the females usually producing three or four kids at a birth, once in four months. *St Nicholas* is the best peopled next after St Jago. *Mayo* has a great deal of salt, formed by the heat of the sun in pits, or ponds, into which the sea-water is let from time to time, and might furnish many thousand tons yearly, if there were vent for it. The fine *Marroquin* leather is made from the goat-skins brought from these islands.

We sailed from St Vincent on the 8th October; and in our passage to the coast of Brazil some new disputes arose among the men. After various consultations, it was determined that one Page, second mate of the Duchess, should be removed into the Duke, whence Mr Ballet was to remove into the Duchess. Captain Cooke was sent to execute this order, which Page refused to obey, but was brought away by force. Being accused of mutiny, he requested leave to go to the head before entering on his defence, which was permitted, when he jumped overboard, meaning to swim to the Duchess, while both captains were absent; but he was brought back and punished, which ended this dissension. The 18th November we anchored before Isla Grande, on the coast of Brazil, in eleven fathoms. While here new quarrels arose, and matters had like to have come to a great height in the Duchess, when Captain Courtney put eight of the ringleaders in irons, which frightened the rest, and probably prevented an attempt to run away with the ship. On the 23d two men deserted from the Duchess, but were so frightened in the night by tigers, as they supposed, though only monkeys and baboons, that they took refuge in the sea, and hallooed with all their might till they were fetched on board: yet, on the 25th, two Irish landmen stole away into the woods; but both were taken next day, and put in irons.

This

This island is remarkably high land, having a small cliff and a tip standing up on one side, in the middle of the highest land, easily seen in clear weather; and there is a small island without *Isla Grande* to the southward, rising in three little hummocks, the nearest hummock to the great island being the smallest. There is also a singularly round white rock on the larboard side, nearest Isla Grande, at the entrance between it and the main going in. On the starboard-side of this entrance there are several islands, and even the main land has much the appearance of islands till well in. The best way is, when you have opened the coves on the starboard-side going in, which are inhabited, to get a pilot to carry you to the watering-cove on Isla Grande; otherwise send a boat to the watering-cove, which lies round the inner and western point of the island, and is near a league in the passage between small islands, but room enough and bold. It is the second cove, under the first high mount, round behind the first-seen point, after getting in between the two islands. This is the cove at which we watered; and we sounded all the passage going in, having seldom less than ten fathoms. There are other two very good coves, but we had not time to sound them. The town is N.E. from this cove, about three leagues distant.

Isla Grande is about nine leagues long, consisting of high land, as in the main, and all near the water is thickly covered with wood. The island abounds with monkeys and other wild beasts, and has plenty of good timber for various uses as well as fuel, with excellent water; and oranges, lemons, and guavas grow wild in the woods. From the town we procured rum, sugar, and tobacco, and the last is sold very dear, though not good for smoking, being too strong. We got also fowls and hogs, but the latter were scarce and dear; likewise maize, or Indian corn, bananas, plantains, guavas, lemons, oranges, and pine-apples are in great plenty; but they have no bread except *cassada,* which they call *faranada pan,* or bread of wood. Beef and mutton were cheap, but no great quantity to be had. We had fine pleasant weather most of the time we were here, but hot like an oven, as the sun was quite vertical. The winds we did not much observe, as they were little and variable, but commonly between the N. and E.

I had Neuhoff's account of Brazil on board, and from all the enquiry and observation I could make, I found his description

scription of the country, with its animals and productions, to be just. I particularly enquired respecting the monster called the *liboya*, or roebuck-serpent, thinking it fabulous; but the Portuguese governor assured me that they are sometimes found thirty feet long, and as big round as a barrel, being able to swallow a roebuck at one morsel, whence it has its name; and he told me that one of these enormous serpents had been killed near the town, a short time before our arrival. The principal products of Brazil are red wood, bearing the name of the country; sugar, gold, tobacco, snuff, whale oil, and various kinds of drugs; and the Portuguese build their best ships in this country. Brazil has now become very populous, and the people take great delight in arms, especially about the gold mines, to which people of all kinds resort in great numbers, especially negroes and mulattoes. Only four years ago [in 1704] these people endeavoured to make themselves independent, but have now submitted. Some men of repute told me that the gold mines increase fast in productiveness, and that the gold is got much easier in them than in any other country.

The indigenous Brazilian women are very fruitful, and have easy labours, on which occasion they retire into the woods, and bring forth alone, and return home after washing themselves and their child; the husbands lying a-bed for the first twenty-four hours, being treated as if they had endured the pains of child-birth. The *Tapoyers*, who inhabit the inland country to the west, are the most barbarous of the natives, being taller and stronger than any of the other tribes, and indeed than most Europeans. They wear, by way of ornament, little sticks thrust through their cheeks and underlips, and are said to be cannibals, using poisoned arrows and darts. They live chiefly by hunting and fishing, shifting their habitations according to the seasons. Their kings, or chiefs, are distinguished by a particular manner of shaving their crowns, and by wearing their nails very long. Their priests are sorcerers, making the people believe that the devils appear to them in the form of certain insects, and they perform their diabolical worship in the night, when the women make dismal howlings, in which consists their principal devotion. They allow polygamy, yet punish adultery with death. When the young women are marriageable, but not courted, their mothers carry them to the chiefs, who deflower them, and this is deemed a great honour. Some of these people

people were considerably civilized by the Dutch, while they possessed a part of Brazil, and did them good service under the conduct of their native chiefs.

Leaving Isla Grande on the 30th November, we continued our voyage far to the south, where we endured great cold, owing to which, a third part of both ships companies fell sick while passing round Cape Horn, for which reason we bore away for the island of Juan Fernandez, which we had some difficulty to find, owing to its being laid down differently in all the charts. Even Captain Dampier was much at a loss, though he had been there so often, and had as it were a map of the island in his head, which exactly agreed with it when we came there. This ought to induce sea-officers to prefer their own proper business to amusement, since, with all this knowledge, we were forced to make the main land of Chili, in order to find this island, and did not strike it at the last without considerable difficulty.

We arrived at the island of *Juan Fernandez* on the 1st February 1709, and having a good observation the day before, when we found our lat. 34° 10′ S.[2] In the afternoon we hoisted out our pinnace, in which Captain Dover set off to go on shore, though not less than four leagues from the ship. As it grew dark, we observed a light on shore, which some were of opinion was from our boat, but it was evidently too large for that, and we hung up a light to direct our boat, firing our quarter-deck gun, and showing lights in our mizen and fore shrouds, that our boat might find us, as we had fallen to leeward of the island. Our boat came aboard again about two in the morning, having turned back on seeing the light ashore when within a league, and we were glad they had got off so well, as it now began to blow. We were all convinced that the light which we had seen was from the shore, and therefore prepared our ships for an engagement, supposing it might proceed from some French ships at anchor, which we must either fight or want water. All this stir and apprehension, as we afterwards found, arose from one poor man, who passed in our imaginations for a Spanish garrison, a body of Frenchmen, or a crew of pirates, and it is incredible what strange notions some of our people entertained about this light; yet it served to show their tempers and

[2] Juan Fernandez is in lat. 33° 40′ S. long. 79° W. Massa Faera, in the same latitude, is in long. 80° 50′ W. from Greenwich.—E.

and spirits, and enabled us to guess how our men would behave, in case there really were enemies on the island.

While under these apprehensions, we stood to the back of the island in order to fall in with the southerly wind, till we were past the island. We then stood back for it again, and ran close aboard the land that begins to form its N.E. side. The flaws came heavy off the land, and we were forced to reef our top-sails when we opened the middle bay, where we expected to have found our enemy, but saw all clear, and no ships either there or in the other bay near the N.E. end. These are the only bays in which ships can ride that come here for refreshments, the middle one being the best. We now conjectured that there had been ships here, but that they had gone away on seeing us. About noon of the 2d February, we sent our yawl on shore, in which was Captain Dover, Mr Fry, and six men, all armed; and in the mean time we and the Duchess kept turning in, and such heavy squalls came off the land that we had to let fly our top-sail sheets, keeping all hands to stand by our sails, lest the winds should blow them away. These flaws proceed from the land, which is very high in the middle of the island; but when they passed by, we had little or no wind. As our yawl did not return, we sent the pinnace well armed, to see what had occasioned the yawl to stay, being afraid there might be a Spanish garrison on the island, who might have seized her and our men.

Even the pinnace delays returning, on which we put up a signal for her to come back, when she soon came off with abundance of cray-fish, bringing also a man cloathed in goat-skins, who seemed wilder than the original owners of his apparel. His name was *Alexander Selkirk*, a Scotsman, who had been left here by Captain Stradling in the Cinque-ports, and had lived alone on the island for four years and four months. Captain Dampier told me he had been master of the Cinque-ports, and was the best man in that vessel; so I immediately agreed with him to serve as a mate in the Duke. During his stay, he had seen several ships pass by, but only two came to anchor at the island, which he found to be Spaniards, and therefore retired from them, on which they fired at him, but he escaped into the woods. Had they been French, he would have surrendered to them; but chose rather to run the risk of dying alone on the island than fall into the hands of the Spaniards, as he suspected they would

either

put him to death, or make him a slave in their mines. The Spaniards had landed before he knew what they were, and came so near him that he had much ado to escape; for they not only shot at him, but pursued him into the woods, where he climbed up a tree, at the foot of which some of them made water, and killed several goats just by, yet went away without discovering him.

He told us that he was born in Largo, in the county of Fife in Scotland, and was bred a sailor from his youth. The reason of his being left here was a difference with Captain Stradling; which, together with the ship being leaky, made him at first rather willing to stay here than to continue in the ship; and when at last he was inclined to have gone, the captain would not receive him. He had been at the island before to wood and water, when two of the men were left upon it for six months, the ship being chased away by two French South-Sea ships; but the Cinque-ports returned and took them off, at which time he was left. He had with him his clothes and bedding, with a firelock and some powder and bullets, some tobacco, a knife, a kettle, a bible, with some other books, and his mathematical instruments. He diverted himself and provided for his sustenance as well as he could; but had much ado to bear up against melancholy for the first eight months, and was sore distressed at being left alone in such a desolate place. He built himself two huts of pimento trees, thatched with long grass, and lined with goat-skins, killing goats as he needed them with his gun, so long as his powder lasted, which was only about a pound at first. When that was all spent, he procured fire by rubbing two sticks of pimento wood together. He slept in his larger hut, and cooked his victuals in the smaller, which was at some distance, and employed himself in reading, praying, and singing psalms, so that he said he was a better Christian during his solitude than he had ever been before, or than, as he was afraid, he should ever be again.

At first he never ate but when constrained by hunger, partly from grief, and partly for want of bread and salt. Neither did he then go to bed till he could watch no longer, the pimento wood serving him both for fire and candle, as it burned very clear, and refreshed him by its fragrant smell. He might have had fish enough, but would not eat them for want of salt, as they occasioned a looseness; except cray-fish, which are as large as our lobsters, and are very good. These he

he sometimes boiled, and at other times broiled, as he did his goat's flesh, of which he made good broth, for they are not so rank as our goats. Having kept an account, he said he had killed 500 goats while on the island, besides having caught as many more, which he marked on the ear and let them go. When his powder failed, he run down the goats by speed of foot; for his mode of living, with continual exercise of walking and running, cleared him of all gross humours, so that he could run with wonderful swiftness through the woods, and up the hills and rocks, as we experienced in catching goats for us. We had a bull-dog, which we sent along with several of our nimblest runners to help him in catching goats, but he outstript our dog and men, caught the goats, and brought them to us on his back. On one occasion, his agility in pursuing a goat had nearly cost him his life: as, while pursuing it with great eagerness, he caught hold of it on the brink of a precipice, of which he was not aware, being concealed by bushes, so that he fell with the goat down the precipice to a great depth, and was so bruised and stunned by the fall, that he lay senseless, as he supposed, for twenty-four hours, and when he recovered his senses found the goat dead under him. He was then scarcely able to crawl to his hut, about a mile distant, and could not stir out again for ten days.

He came at length to relish his meat well enough without bread and salt. In the proper season he had plenty of good turnips, which had been sowed there by Captain Dampier's men, and had now spread over several acres of ground. He had also abundance of cabbage, from the cabbage-palms, and seasoned his food with the fruit of the pimento, which is the same with Jamaica pepper, and has a fine flavour. He found also a species of black pepper, called *malageta*, which was good for expelling wind and curing gripes. He soon wore out all his shoes and other clothes, by running in the woods; and, being forced to shift without, his feet became so hard that he ran about every where without inconvenience, and it was some time after he came to us before he could wear shoes, as his feet swelled when he first began again to wear them. After he had got the better of his melancholy, he sometimes amused himself with carving his name on the trees, together with the date of his being left there, and the time of his solitary residence. At first he was much pestered with cats and rats, which had bred there in great numbers from some of each

each species which had got on shore from ships that had wooded and watered at the island. The rats gnawed his feet and clothes when he was asleep, which obliged him to cherish the cats, by feeding them with goats flesh, so that many of them became so tame that they used to lie beside him in hundreds, and soon delivered him from the rats. He also tamed some kids, and for his diversion would at times sing and dance with them and his cats: So that, by the favour of Providence and the vigour of his youth, for he was now only thirty years of age, he came at length to conquer all the inconveniences of his solitude, and to be quite easy in his mind.

When his clothes were worn out, he made himself a coat and a cap of goat skins, which he stitched together with thongs of the same, cut out with his knife, using a nail by way of a needle or awl. When his knife was worn out, he made others as well as he could of some old hoops that had been left on the shore, which he beat out thin between two stones, and grinded to an edge on a smooth stone. Having some linen cloth, he sewed himself some shirts by means of a nail for a needle, stitching them with worsted, which he pulled out on purpose from his old stockings, and he had the last of his shirts on when we found him. At his first coming on board, he had so much forgotten his language, for want of use, that we could scarcely understand him, as he seemed to speak his words only by halves. We offered him a dram, which he refused, not having drank any thing but water all the time he had been on the island, and it was some time before he could relish our provisions. He could give us no farther account of the productions of the island than has been already, except that there were some very good black plums, but hard to come at, as the trees which bear them grow on high mountains and steep rocks. There are many pimento trees, some of them being sixty feet high and two yards round; and we saw cotton trees still higher, and near four fathoms round the stems. The climate is excellent, and the trees and grass are quite verdant the whole year. The winter lasts no longer than June and July, and is not then severe, there being then only slight frosts and a little hail, but sometimes very great rains. The heat of summer is equally moderate, and there is not much thunder or tempestuous weather. He saw no venomous or savage creature on the island, nor any other beasts besides goats, bred there from a few brought by

Juan

Juan Fernandez, a Spaniard, who settled there with a few families, till the continent of Chili began to submit to the Spaniards, when they removed to that country as more profitable. This island, however, might maintain a good many people, and is capable of being made so strong that they could not be easily dislodged.

We got our smith's forge ashore on the 3d February, and set our coopers to work to repair our water casks. They made a little tent also for me on shore, to enjoy the benefit of the land air. The two ships also set up tents for their sick, so that we had presently a kind of small town, in which all who were able were busily employed. A few men supplied us with excellent fish, in such abundance that they could take as many in a few hours as would serve 200 men for a meal. There were some sea-fowl in the bay, as large as geese, but they eat fishy. The *governor*, for so we called Mr Selkirk, never failed to procure us two or three goats every day for our sick men, by which, with the help of cabbages and other vegetables, and the wholesome air, our men soon recovered from the scurvy, and we found this island exceedingly agreeable, the weather being neither too hot nor too cold. We spent our time till the 10th in refitting our ships, taking wood on board, and laying in a stock of water, that which we brought from England, St Vincents, and Isla Grande, being spoilt by the badness of our casks. We also boiled up and refined eighty gallons of oil of sea-lions, which we used in lamps to save candles, and might have prepared several tons, if we had been provided with vessels. The sailors sometimes used this oil to fry their fish, for want of butter, and found it sufficiently agreeable. The men who worked ashore in repairing our rigging, eat the young seals, which they preferred to our ship's provisions, alleging that it was as good as English lamb. We made all the haste we could to get every thing on board, as we learnt at the Canaries that five stout French privateers were coming in company into the South Sea.

This island of Juan Fernandez is about fifteen English miles in length from E. to W. and five miles where broadest, but averaging little more than two miles in breadth, and is mostly composed of high rugged land. I know of nothing in its neighbourhood which may endanger a ship, except what is distinctly visible. We anchored in the great bay, [La Baia or Cumberland harbour] on the N.E. side, about a mile from

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the bottom of the bay, our best bower being dropt in forty fathoms, and the stream anchor carried in with the shore, where it was laid in about thirty fathoms. We here had plenty of several sorts of fish, as silver-fish, snappers, bonitoes, cavallos, pollocks, old wives, and cray-fish of great size. The wind blows here generally off the shore, sometimes in heavy squalls, but for the most part calm, and where we were moored the water was very smooth, owing to the winding of the shore. Mr Selkirk told us it had never blown towards the land above four hours, all the time he had been there. It is all hills and vallies, and would doubtless produce most plants usual in such climates, if manured and cultivated, as the soil promises well in most parts, and already grows turnips and some other roots, which I suppose were formerly sowed. It has plenty of wood and water, and abundance of wild goats.

There are such numbers of great sea-lions and other seals of various sorts, all having excellent furs, in every bay, that we could hardly walk about along shore for them, as they lay about in flocks like sheep, their young ones bleating for their dams like so many lambs. Some of these sea-lions are as big in the body as an English ox, and they roar like lions. They are covered with short hair of a light colour, which is still lighter on the young ones. I suppose they live partly on fish and partly on grass, for they come on shore by means of their fore paws, dragging their hind parts after them, and bask themselves in the sun in great numbers. They cut near a foot deep of fat, and we killed a good many of them for the sake of their oil, which is of good quality, but they are difficult to kill. Both sea-lions and seals were so numerous on the shore, that we had to drive them away before we could land, and they were so numerous as is hardly credible, making a most prodigious noise.

There are but few birds. One sort, called *pardelas* by the Spaniards, burrow in the ground like rabbits, and are said to be good eating. There are also *humming-birds*, not much larger than humble bees, their bills no thicker than a pin, their legs proportional to their bodies, and their minute feathers of most beautiful colours. These are seldom taken or seen but in the evenings, when they fly about, and they flew sometimes at night into our fire. There is here a sort of cabbage tree, of the nature of a palm, producing small cabbages, but very sweet. The tree is slender and straight, with circular knobs on the stem fourteen inches above each other,

and

and having no leaves except at the top. The branches are about twelve feet long, and at about a foot and a half from the body of the tree begin to shoot out leaves, which are four feet long and an inch broad, and so regularly placed that the whole branch seems one entire leaf. The cabbage, which grows out from the bottom of the branches, is about a foot long and very white; and at the bottom of this there grow clusters of berries, weighing five or six pounds, like bunches of grapes, as red as cherries and larger than our black-heart cherries, each having a large stone in the middle, and the pulp eats like our haws. These cabbage trees abound about three miles into the woods, the trunk being often eighty or ninety feet high, and is always cut down to get the cabbages, which are good eating; but most of them grow on the tops of the nearest mountains to the great bay.

We found here some Guinea pepper, and some silk cotton trees, besides several others with the names of which I am not acquainted. Pimento is the best timber, and the most plentiful at this side of the island, but it is very apt to split till it is a little dried. We cut the longest and cleanest to split for fire wood. In the nearest plain, we found abundance of turnip greens, and water-cresses in the brooks, which greatly refreshed our men, and quickly cured them of the scurvy. Mr Selkirk said the turnips formed good roots in our summer months, which are winter at this island; but this being autumn, they were all run up to seed, so that we had no benefit of them excepting their green leaves and shoots. The soil is a loose black earth, and the rocks are very rotten, so that it is dangerous to climb the hills for cabbages without great care. There are also many holes dug into the ground by a sort of birds called *puffins,* which give way in walking, and endanger the breaking or wrenching a limb. Mr Selkirk said he had seen snow and ice here in July, the depth of the southern winter; but in September, October, and November, the spring months, the climate is very pleasant, and there are then abundance of excellent herbs, as purslein, parsley, and sithes. We found also an herb, not unlike *feverfew,* which proved very useful to our surgeons for fomentations. It has a most grateful smell like balm, but stronger and more cordial, and grew in plenty near the shore. We gathered many large bundles of it, which were dried in the shade, and sent aboard for after-use, besides strewing the tents with it fresh gathered every morning, which tended much to the

the recovery of our sick, of whom, though numerous when we came here, only two died belonging to the Duchess. We found the nights very cold, and the days not near so warm as might have been expected in so low a latitude. It hardly ever rains, instead of which there fall very heavy dews in the night, which serve the purposes of rain, and the air is almost perpetually serene.

The 13th February we held a consultation, in which we framed several regulations for preserving secrecy, discipline, and strict honesty in both vessels: and on the 17th we determined that two men from the Duke should serve in the Duchess, and two of her men in the Duke, to see that justice was reciprocally done by each ship's company to the other. The 28th we tried both pinnaces in the water under sail, having a gun fixed in each, and every thing else requisite to render them very useful small privateers.

SECTION II.

Proceedings of the Expedition on the Western Coast of America.

In the evening of the 15th March[1] we saw a sail, and the Duchess being nearest soon took her. She was a small bark of sixteen tons from Payta, bound to Cheripe for flour, having a small sum of money on board to make the purchase, being commanded by a *Mestizo*, or one begotten between a Spaniard and an Indian, having a crew of eight men, one a Spaniard, another a negro, and all the rest Indians. On asking for news, we were told, that all the French ships, being seven in number, had left the South Sea six months before, and no more were to come there; adding, that the Spaniards had such an aversion to them, that they had killed many Frenchmen at Callao, the port of Lima, and quarrelled with them so frequently that none of them were suffered to come ashore there for some time before they sailed.

After putting some men aboard the prize, we haled close upon a wind for the isle of *Lobos*, and had we not been informed by our prisoners, had endangered our ships by running

[1] It is quite obvious that they had now left Juan Fernandez, but this circumstance and its date are omitted by Harris.—E.

ning too far within that isle, as there are shoals between the island and the main, having a passage for boats only in that direction to get into the road which is to leeward of these islands in a sound between them. This sound is a mile long and half a mile wide, and has from ten to twelve fathoms on good ground. The only entrance for ships is to leeward of the islands. We went in with a small weather tide, but I could never observe it to flow above three feet while we were there. On the eastermost island there is a round hummock, behind which is a small cove, very smooth, deep, and convenient enough for careening a ship; we here hauled up and fitted our prize, which we named the *Beginning*. The highest part of the island of Lobos, as seen from the road, did not seem much higher than the top-mast head of a large ship. The soil is a hungry white clayish earth, mixed with sand and rocks; and there is no fresh water, nor any green thing to be seen on either of the islands. They are frequented by many vultures or carrion crows, and looked so like turkeys that one of our officers was rejoiced at the sight, expecting to fare sumptuously, and would not wait till the boat could put him ashore, but leapt into the water with his gun, and let fly at a parcel of them; but, when he came to take up his game, it stunk most abominably, and made us merry at his expence. The other birds here are pelicans, penguins, boobies, gulls, and one resembling teal, which nestle in holes under ground. Our men got great numbers of these birds, which they said were good meat after being skinned.

We found abundance of bulrushes and empty jars, which the Spanish fishers had left on shore; for all over this western coast of America, they use earthen jars instead of casks, for containing oil, wine, and all other liquids. There are here abundance of sea-lions and seals, the latter being much larger than those we saw at Juan Fernandez, but their fur not so fine. Our people killed several of these, on purpose to eat their livers; but a Spaniard on board died suddenly after eating them, and I forbade their use, and we learnt also from our prisoners that the old seals are very unwholesome. The wind commonly blows here fresh from the south, veering to the east, and coming over the land to where we lay, brought with it a most noisome smell from the seals on shore, which gave me a violent headach, and offended every one else extremely. We found nothing so offensive at Juan Fernandez.

Our

Our prisoners told us, that the widow of the late viceroy of Peru was soon expected to embark in a Spanish man of war of thirty-six guns for Acapulco, with her family and riches; on which voyage she would either stop at Payta for refreshments, or pass in sight of that place, as is customary. They said also that about eight months before, a ship had passed Payta for Acapulco, loaded with flour and liquors, and having 200,000 dollars on board. Also, that they had left signior Morel at Payta, in a ship laden with dry goods, who was expected to sail shortly for Lima; and that a stout French-built ship richly laden, and having a bishop on board, was shortly expected at Payta. This is the common place for refreshments, and is frequented by most ships from Lima or other parts to windward, on their way to Panama or other ports on the western coast of Mexico. On this information, we determined to spend as much time as possible cruising off Payta, so as not to discover that we were in these seas lest we should thereby hinder our other designs.

In pursuance of this plan, we took a galleon on the 1st April, of 500 tons burden, commanded by two brothers, Joseph and Juan Morel, laden with dry goods and negroes; and next day we took another prize. We now determined to make an attack on the town of *Guayaquil;* and on the 11th April, in a grand consultation, this enterprize was fully resolved upon, and a paper of instructions was drawn up for the guidance of the officers who were to command, so that each might be taught and kept to his duty. This enterprize was to be conducted by the three captains, Rogers, Courtney, and Dover. Captain Dover was to command the van division, consisting of seventy marines; Rogers the centre company, of seventy-one men, mostly officers and sailors; and Courtney the rear-guard, of seventy-three men; while Captain Dampier, with a reserve of twenty-two men, was to bring up some pieces of cannon, to be employed if necessary. Our force therefore on this occasion consisted of 238 men.[2] Captain Cooke was to remain in the Duchess with forty-two men, and Captain Fry in the Duke with forty, our entire force being 320 men, while we had about 266 prisoners in both ships, including Indians and Negroes.

Every thing being arranged, we bore in for Cape *Blanco* on the 13th, of which we had sight about noon, bearing E.S.E.

[2] The enumeration in the text gives only 236 men.—E.

E.S.E. ten leagues off. On the 15th in the morning we saw a ship near the shore, and having little wind, the Duke's boat, commanded by Captain Fry, and that of the Duchess by Captain Cooke, rowed directly for her, going off in such haste that neither of them had the swivel guns commonly used in the boats, neither had they their full complement of men, and only ten muskets and four pistols, with not much powder and shot, and no water. They rowed very hard for six leagues to get up with the ship, and on Mr Fry getting near, she hoisted Spanish colours. We could plainly see that she was French-built, and therefore concluded that it must be the ship we had long looked for, which was to carry the bishop. Our ships being almost out of sight, and the chase near the coast, making the best of her way to run ashore in a sandy bay, we resolved to lay her on board, one of our boats on each bow, I[3] being then on her weather quarter, and Captain Fry on her lee. It was our intention to pretend that we were friends, till we should get out of the way of her stern-chase guns; but the Duke's men, conceiving the Spaniards were going to give us a volley, poured in their shot. We then laid in our oars, and fell to with our small arms. We kept up a constant fire for a long time, which was returned by the Spaniards, who killed two of Captain Fry's men, and wounded one of his and two of mine. One of the dead men was John Rogers, our second lieutenant, and brother to Captain Woods Rogers, who had behaved himself gallantly. Finding the enterprize too difficult, Captain Fry drew off his boat, as I did soon after. Captain Fry then put some of his men aboard my boat, giving us some powder and shot, and taking in our wounded men, on which he stood away towards our ships, while I resolved to keep the chase if possible from running on shore, and rather than fail to clap her on board. Seeing our design, the enemy edged off to sea, and we after them. Our ships came up apace, while we kept close to the Spaniard, sometimes firing at him. At length the Duchess got up and fired a shot or two, on which she struck, and we immediately boarded. The men begged for quarter, and we promised them all civility. This ship was of 270 tons, commanded by Don Joseph Arizabella, and had come from Panama bound for Lima

[3] This particular action is related by Harris in the words of Captain Cooke, who commanded the boat from the Duchess.—E.

Lima, where she was to have been fitted out as a man of war, the captain having his commission on board for that purpose. She had seventy negroes on board, with many passengers. The loading was bale goods, with some things belonging to the bishop, and a considerable quantity of pearls; but the bishop had been landed at Point St Helena, whence he was to go by land to Guayaquil. Many of the passengers were considerable merchants at Lima, and the briskest Spaniards I ever saw. After the capture of this ship, Captain Cooke remained on board, sending her captain and the rest of the prisoners to the Duke and Duchess.

We now proceeded on our intended expedition against Guayaquil, sending the *Beginning* ahead to *Punta arena*, or Sandy Point, on the island of Puna, to see if there was any force to oppose us; but she only found a Spanish bark, quite empty, riding close under the point. She had been sent to load salt, but her men had abandoned her on seeing us approach. At five in the afternoon, our whole force intended for the attack upon Guayaquil, being embarked in boats, rowed for that place; and at eleven at night we could see a light in the town, on which we rowed as easy as we could and in silence, for fear of being discovered, till we were within a mile of the place. We then heard a sentinel call to another, and after conversing for some time, bid him bring fire. Perceiving we were now discovered, we rowed to the other side of the river, opposite the town, whence we saw a fire lighted up at the place where the centinels had talked, and soon after we could see lights all over the town and at the water side, heard them ring the alarm bell, fire several vollies, and saw a fire lighted on the hill where the beacon was kept, all on purpose to give notice to the town and neighbourhood that we were come into the river.

Our boats were now moored with grapplings, and so hot a dispute took place among some of our officers, that they were heard on shore; but as the Spaniards did not understand what they said, an English prisoner was brought to the shore to interpret what they heard. By the time he came, the dispute was over; but this Englishman afterwards joined us, and gave us this account. We held a council in the stern sheets of one of our boats, to consider whether we should land immediately or wait till day-light; and, as the barks were not come up, in which were the artillery and half of our men, and as we did not know the ground sufficiently

ciently to act in the dark, it was agreed to wait till day, by which time it was hoped the barks would join. We accordingly fell down the river a short way, to meet our barks, hearing several musket shots by the way. On the 23d April at day-break, we saw one of our barks at anchor within a mile of the town, close under the shore, and the other coming up the river with the tide of flood. We then rowed up to our bark, which had fired the shots we heard in the night at some fishermen passing by, whom they took.

All our force being now joined, we proceeded up the river, and sent a flag of truce on shore, accompanied by Don Joseph Arizabella, the governor of Puna, and another prisoner; and then towed up our barks over against the town, where we came to an anchor. When Captain Arizabella came with our flag of truce before the corregidor or mayor of Guayaquill, he enquired our numbers, which the captain magnified, on which the corregidore said we were boys, not men. To this the captain answered, he would find them men, and brave ones too, for they had fought him gallantly in their open boats, although he had slain the brother of their commander and others; and therefore advised him to agree for the ransom of the town, as even if he had 3000 men he would be unable to withstand the English. To this the corregidore replied, *My horse is ready*.

After bringing our barks to anchor, we went up the river after some vessels, six of which we secured and brought to anchor beside our barks. We also took possession of two new ships of about 400 tons burden each. Soon after this, the governor came on board one of the prizes, to treat for the ransom of the town and ships, but could not then agree, but promised to meet the captains again at seven in the evening, but did not keep his sword. This evening our boats took some canoes having silver on board. On the 24th in the morning, the governor came off again to treat, but no agreement could be made; and at four in the afternoon we landed all our men in good order, when the Spaniards only fired one volley and then fled. Our men pursued them to where their cannon were placed, which they soon gained possession of, only one gunner, an Irishman, remaining by them till he was wounded in four places, of which he soon afterwards died. We marched through both towns in a compact body, driving the enemy before us, and then placed three guards in the three churches, setting fire to five or six houses

houses which stood near to a wood into which the Spaniards had fled, that they might not have the cover of these houses to annoy our guard, which stood within pistol shot. All night they kept firing at our sentinels from the woods, yet without doing us any harm. Several parties also of horse and foot came out of the wood, as if to attack us, but made no attempt. In the mean time, the pinnace belonging to the Duchess, in which was Lieutenant Connely and twenty-two men, went up the river, landed at every house near its banks, and brought away all the plate and other articles of value they could find. In this service, they had some skirmishing with the enemy, in which one of our men was wounded.

On the 25th the enemy appeared numerous in the woods, whence they sometimes came out and skirmished with our guards, in which one of our men was wounded. We spent the afternoon in sending off provisions from the town to our ships, and in disposing all things in readiness in case of being attacked in the night, as the enemy appeared numerous about the outskirts. For this reason, all the captains concentrated our whole force at the main guard, where we had our cannon in readiness. Messengers arrived with a flag of truce in the morning of the 26th, to treat for ransoming the town, but could not agree; but in the afternoon it was at length agreed to pay 30,000 dollars for its ransom, giving three hostages, and we were to remain at Puna till they had time to raise the sum, as the inhabitants had carried away their money, and being so dispersed that it was impossible to collect the money while we were there, even the inhabitants of the adjacent country having carried off their valuable effects into the interior.

In the morning of the 27th, the hostages for the ransom were sent on board one of our barks, together with a boat-load of brandy; and, as agreed upon with the Spaniards, we took down our union jack, hoisted a flag of truce, and fired a signal gun, that the Spaniards might come freely into the town, and that no hostilities should take place on either side during the time we had agreed to wait for the money. The purpose of admitting the Spanish inhabitants was to prevent the Indians and Negroes from robbing; and I am apt to believe they had already robbed as much as we had plundered, for we had taken many of them loaded with goods, while going our rounds, which they confessed to have stolen

stolen; and we were afterwards informed, that the inhabitants, in their hurry, had given much plate and money to Negroes to carry out of town, which they could never hear of afterwards.

The 29th in the morning we took a small Spanish bark, coming from Cheripe to Guayaquil, on board of which were 330 bags of meal, and 140 arobas or hundred-weights of sugar, with some onions, quinces, and pomegranates. This, with the six barks and two great ships ransomed with the town of Guayaquil, made 14 prizes taken in the South Sea. The plunder taken in Guayaquil, exclusive of the ransom, was very considerable. We found 230 bags of flour, beans, peas, and rice; 15 jars of oil, besides 160 jars of other liquor; some cordage, iron ware, and nails; about four half jars of powder; about a ton of pitch and tar; 150 bales of dry goods; a few packs of indigo, cacao, and arnotto; about a ton of loaf-sugar; a considerable parcel of clothes and other necessaries, and to the value of about £1200 in plate, ear-rings, and other trinkets; besides four pieces of cannon, and about 200 useless muskets. We left abundance of goods in the town, besides liquors of all sorts, and a variety of naval stores, and several warehouses full of cacao. We left also several ships on the stocks, and two new ships still unrigged, of above 400 tons each, which cost upwards of 80,000 crowns; and we also restored four barks, leaving two others to bring down the ransom. Thus it appears that the Spaniards had a good bargain; but the agreed ransom, though small, was far better for us than to burn what we could not carry away. The hostages informed us, that during our treaty 80,000 dollars belonging to the king had been sent out of the town, besides plate, jewels, and other things of the greatest value. Hence it is certain, if we had landed at the first, giving them no time at all, that we had been much greater gainers, and might have made 200,000 dollars, in ready money, plate, and jewels. Yet Guayaquil had not been so poor for forty years as now, there having been a great fire about a year and half before we took it, in which the best part of the town was burnt down, and had occasioned great expence for its rebuilding.

As it was, we thought ourselves well off, and great care was taken that all concerned in the expedition should be satisfied, by which our people were much gratified, and afterwards shewed great alacrity in executing our other enterprizes.

prizes. This is of the utmost consequence with privateers; for, if the men have the smallest jealousy of being ill treated in this respect, disputes arise which do infinitely more mischief than the value of what can be got by such sinister practices. Among all the men who landed in this enterprize, the only man who drank a cup too much was one John Gabriel, a Dutchman, who served in the company commanded by Captain Rogers. When we were evacuating the town, he was missing, and was supposed to be either taken or slain. But he had found some excellent brandy in the house where he was quartered, of which he drank so liberally that he fell fast asleep on the floor, and was in that condition when we evacuated the town. The master of the house returned soon after, and found the Dutchman stretched out at full length, and so dead asleep that he could hardly distinguish whether he were living. Calling in some of his neighbours, and securing the Dutchman's weapons, they set him on his feet, and with some difficulty brought him to his senses, when he was not a little alarmed at finding himself in such company. At length the Spaniard restored his arms, and desired him to make all the haste he could after his comrades, who were not yet embarked.

On the 2d May, which was the day appointed for payment of the ransom, no boat appeared, and we began to be uneasy for our money; but at length the boat arrived, and brought us 22,000 dollars. We received the money, and sent back a message that we proposed to sail from Puna next morning, and should carry away the hostages, if the rest of the money were not then sent. We staid however till the 6th, when Captain Courtney was anxious to depart, lest we should be attacked by the French and Spanish ships from Lima. I endeavoured in vain to convince him that we were in no danger, as they could not by this time have received notice at Lima, and have fitted out a force sufficient to attack us. We sailed however, and came to anchor in the afternoon a few leagues from Point Arena. Next morning, when we were preparing to sail, Mr Morel, a gentleman from Puna related to our prisoners, and another gentleman from Guayaquil, brought us 3500 dollars, in farther payment of our ransom. This put us into such good humour, that we discharged all our prisoners except the Morels, the three hostages, and three or four more. The gentleman from Guayaquil had a gold chain and some other things of value,

value, for which we sold him our bark, the *Beginning*, having no farther use for her. We also gave Captain Arizabella three negro women, and another to Mr Morel, and returned their wearing apparel to most of our prisoners who were now liberated, so that we parted good friends.

Guayaquil is divided into two parts, called the old and new towns, which together contain about 500 houses, and are joined by a long wooden bridge for foot passengers, near half a mile long. It is situated in low boggy ground, so dirty in winter that it is difficult to go from house to house. There is but one regular street along the river side, leading to the bridge, and from it along the old town. Besides this, there is a handsome parade or square in front of the church of St Jago, but that church is in ruins. Besides this, there are three other churches, St Augustin, St Francis, and St Dominic; before which last is another parade, and a half-moon battery fitted for mounting six guns, but there were none while we were there. There is also a chapel, and there had been a church dedicated to St Ignatius, belonging to the jesuits, but it was burnt down in the great fire. These were all decently adorned with altars, carved work, and pictures, and that dedicated to St Augustin had an organ, but all their plate had been carried away by the priests and students, who fled into the woods. Some of the houses were of brick, particularly about the parades, and the rest of timber or split bamboos, and some of them were decently furnished. Some of the inhabitants had calashes, but I know not what use they could be of, all the neighbourhood being so boggy that there was not road for them.

The boggy ground about Guayaquil was full of the largest toads I ever saw, some being as big as an English two-penny loaf. The town was said to contain 2000 inhabitants of all sorts, including Indians, Negroes, and Mulattoes. An Englishman who joined us here, told us that, in the preceding December, on occasion of a public rejoicing for the birth of the prince of the Asturias, which lasted for three weeks, they had mustered 1100 foot and 500 horse, all armed, which came from the surrounding country, besides a much greater number unarmed, the greater part of whom must have been Indians. Guayaquil is well situated for trade and ship-building, being fourteen leagues from Point Arena and seven from Puna, up a large river, into which fall several smaller ones, and on which there are many villages and farms. The water

water of this river is fresh for four leagues below the city, and all along its banks grow great quantities of mangroves and *sarsaparillas*, and on account of this last the water is thought salutary against the lues. But during floods, when it brings down many poisonous plants from the mountains, among which is the *manchinilla* apple, it is not reckoned wholesome. All birds that eat of this apple are sure to die, and we saw hundreds of them dead, floating on the water.

The seasons here are very improperly denominated summer and winter. The winter is reckoned from the beginning of December to the end of May, in all which season it is sultry, hot, wet, and unhealthy. From the end of May to the beginning of December, which they call summer, the weather is serene, dry, and healthy, and not so violently hot as in what they denominate winter. The cacao is ripe and mostly gathered between June and August. Of the other fruits of this country, some are ripe and others green during the whole course of the year. Guayaquil is the chief city of a province of that name in the kingdom of Peru, governed by a president with five or six orders of judges, forming a royal *audiencia*, or chief court of judicature, and accountable only to the viceroy in military affairs,[4] and every province has a government of the same nature. The governors are appointed, or more properly purchase their offices, at the court of Old Spain, and are for life or good behaviour. If any one die or misbehave, the viceroy may name another during his time, which ought only to be for five years; but he sometimes gets those of his own placing confirmed by an order from Spain, by which means he derives a considerable portion of his unknown profits. The late viceroy of Peru continued in office fourteen years, several intended successors having died on the way. Scarcely does the king of Spain live in greater splendour than the viceroy does at Lima, where the chief courts of judicature are held, to which appeals are brought from all the courts and provinces of this extensive kingdom. I was told on good authority that the last viceroy, who died about four years ago, left at least eight millions of dollars to his widow and family, besides vast sums given in charity during his life, and building many churches,

[4] This province is now in the kingdom or viceroyalty of New Granada, and audiencia of Quito.—E.

churches, friaries, and nunneries. He left a better character than any viceroy had done for an age past.

The province of Guayaquil abounds in excellent timber of several kinds, so that it is the chief place in all Peru for building and repairing ships, of which there are seldom less than seven or eight on the stocks here at one time. Its chief commodity is cacao, with which it supplies most parts on the South Sea, and we were told it never exported less than 30,000 *carguas* yearly, and sometimes double that quantity, a *cargua* being eighty-one pounds weight, which only costs here two dollars and a half. They have also a considerable trade in salt and salt-fish, from Cape St Helena, which is mostly sent to Quito and other places of the inland country. It exports also a vast quantity of timber to Truxilo, Chana, Lima, and other places, where it is scarce. They export also from hence rice and cotton, with some dried or jerked beef. This province has no mines of gold or silver, but abounds in all sorts of cattle, which are very cheap, especially on the island of Puna, where we amply supplied ourselves. Their only grain is maiz, so that all their wheat flour is brought from Truxilo, Cherisse, and other places to windward, or to the south, as the wind blows here always from the south. They procure several kinds of woollen cloth, among which are very strong and good bags, from Quito. Their wines, brandy, olives, oil, and sugar, come from Piscola, Nasca, and other places to windward. All kinds of European goods are brought from Panama, being brought there overland from Portobello on the Gulf of Mexico; and the trade of this port is so considerable as to employ forty sail every year, besides coasters. A market is also held daily on bark logs, or boats, every day, on the river before the town, containing every thing afforded by the interior country in great plenty.

The other towns in the province are governed by lieutenants, or deputies, appointed by the corregidore. Above half of these towns border on the same river or its branches, so that their inhabitants can all come to the capital in two tides, though some are many leagues distant. *Porto Vaco* was formerly the capital. In the whole province, the Spaniards reckon 10,000 inhabitants, but I believe there are many more, including all the mixed races between Spaniards, Indians, and negroes, which they divide and subdivide into eleven denominations. Few of the prisoners who fell into our hands were healthy or sound, and nearly half of the na-

tive

tive Spaniards applied to our doctors for remedies against the French disease, which is so common here that it is reckoned no scandal.

On the 11th May, with a strong gale at S.S.W. we bore away for the Gallepagos islands, being in a very sad condition; for we had upwards of twenty men ill in the Duke, and near fifty in the Duchess, seized with a malignant fever, contracted, as I suppose, at Guayaquil, where a contagious disease had reigned a month or five weeks before we took it; which swept away ten or twelve persons every day, so that all the churches were filled, being their usual burying places, and they had to dig a great deep hole close by the great church, where I kept guard, and this hole was almost filled with putrefying bodies; and our lying so long in that church, surrounded by such noisome scents, was enough to infect us all. In twenty-four hours more we had fifty men down and the Duchess upwards of seventy, and in the next twenty-four hours, ten more fell sick in each ship. We discovered land on the 17th, and on the 18th, at day-break, we were within four leagues of two large islands almost joining each other, having passed that we first saw during the night. We sent repeatedly ashore here in search of water, but could find none, though the people went three or four miles up into the country, and they reported that the island was nothing but loose rocks like cinders, very rotten and heavy, and the earth so parched that it broke into holes under their feet. This made me suppose there had been a volcano here; and though there is much shrubby ground, with some green herbs, there was not the smallest signs of water, neither was it possible for any to be contained on such a surface. In short, we found these islands completely to disappoint our expectations, and by no means to agree with the descriptions of former voyagers. We had also the misfortune to lose company of one of our barks, in which was Mr Hately, with five of our men, two Spanish prisoners, and three negroes.[5]

In a consultation on the 26th May, we resolved to proceed for the island of *Plata* in quest of water, and then to come

[5] Mr Hately, being unable to rejoin his companions, was forced to land at Cape Passado in lat. 0° 25′ S. on the coast of Guayaquil, where he and his people were barbarously used by a mixed race between the Indians and negroes; but were rescued by a priest, and sent to Lima, where he was kindly treated.—E.

come immediately off the coast again, having information of two French ships, one of sixty and the other of forty-six guns, together with a Spanish man of war, that would soon be sent in search of us. It was also our intention to refit our ships there, and not to go near the main, our ships being out of order, and our men very weak and sickly, several of them having already died. We accordingly sailed on the 27th, and in another conversation on the 30th, it was agreed to go first to *Gorgono*, to see if there were any English ships there; and afterwards to sail for *Maugla*, Malaga, or *Madulinar*,[6] where there are some Indians at enmity with the Spaniards, who, as the pilots informed us, come seldom there, and were not likely to procure any intelligence of us from thence. They told us also, if we could induce the Indians to trade with us, we might have hogs, fowls, plantains, bananas, and other refreshments.

While on our course towards Gorgona, the Duchess took the *San Thoma de Villa nova* of ninety tons, having about forty people on board, including eleven negro slaves, and but little European goods, except some cloth and iron. Next day we made the island of *Gorgona*,[7] and on the 8th of June our boats brought in another prize, a small bark of fifteen tons belonging to a creek on the main. She was bound to Guayaquil, having ten Spaniards and Indians on board, and some negroes, but had very little cargo, except a small quantity of gold dust and a large gold chain, together of about 500l. value, which were secured aboard the Duchess. In a consultation, held on the 19th June, proceeding upon information procured from our prisoners, it was resolved to proceed to Malaga, at which there was an anchorage, where we proposed to leave our ships, and to row up the river for the rich gold mines of Barbacore, [*Barbacoas*][8] called also the mines of St Pean, from a village of that name about two

[6] The island of Gorgona is on the coast of New Granada, in lat. 2° 54' N. and long. 78° 35' W.

[7] It is somewhat difficult to ascertain what island is here meant. There are some islands at the mouth of the *Rio de Mira*, in lat. 1° 38' N. on one of which is *Punta de Mangles*, or Cape Mangles, resembling one of the names in the text; but from the context, the island for which they were next bound appears to have been that now called *Del Gallo*, in lat. 1° 55' N. not above ten miles south from the river they proposed to enter. —E.

[8] Barbacoas is one of the provinces of New Granada, having a town of the same name in the *Rio Telembi*, which joins the *Rio Patia*.—E.

tides up the river. At that place we proposed to seize canoes, as fitter than our boats for going up against the stream, in which, at this season of the year, according to the information of an old Spanish pilot, there are such strong freshes, that he did not expect we should reach the mines in less than twelve days. But having discoursed with several of the prisoners, we found the island of Malaga an unsafe place for our ships, and besides, they represented the river as so narrow, that the Indians would be able to assail us with poisoned arrows, and the Spaniards might easily cut off our retreat, by felling trees across from bank to bank. On this information, we held another consultation, in which it was agreed to desist from this enterprize, and we came accordingly back to Gorgona, in so very weak a condition that we could hardly have defended ourselves, if attacked.

We arrived at Gorgona on the 13th June, where we anchored in forty fathoms, and resolved to careen our two ships in succession, beginning with the Duchess. Our sick men were removed into the galleon, and the sick officers to the French-built ship. We landed tents for the cooper's and armourer's crews, and cleared a place for tents to accommodate the sick on shore. All this was performed with so much diligence, that by the 28th both ships were careened, caulked, rigged, and restored fit for sea. On the 29th, we set up tents ashore for the sick, who were already much recovered, though the Spaniards had represented this island as unhealthy; yet by walking about on shore they soon gathered strength enough to return to their duty. We here fitted out the French-built ship, with twenty guns, putting Captain Cooke into her, with a crew taken from the other two ships, resolving to carry her home with us, and to employ her as a third cruizer while in these seas; and this great work employed us from the 29th June to the 9th July, calling her the *Marquis*. She had thirty-five men from the Duke and twenty-six from the Duchess, making a crew of sixty-one British, to which were added twenty negroes.

Our next care was to get rid of our prisoners, who were a great burden to us, and we resolved therefore to set them on shore, after trying every possible method to engage them in a scheme for trading with us. For this purpose I proposed going to Panama, to remain six days near that place, till they should bring the money we could agree for, as the price of our prize goods; and to this the two Morels and Don Antonio

Antonio agreed, provided we would take 60,000 dollars for the whole. I then proposed to give them up the galleon and all the goods and negroes, if they would give us 120,000 dollars for the whole. They told us that trading in these seas with strangers, especially the English and Dutch, was so rigidly prohibited, that they would have to give more than the original cost in bribes, to procure licence to deal with us, and could not therefore assure us of payment, unless we agreed to take a low price. Finding it therefore not worth while to waste time, and knowing we should run much risk in treating with them, we at length resolved to set them all ashore, hoping the Morels and Don Antonio would get money for us, to prevent us from burning the ships we could not conveniently carry away. At parting, I made them sensible that we had treated them like generous enemies, and said we would sell them good bargains for what money they might be able to bring us in ten days, after which we should burn or carry away all that was not then disposed of. We accordingly landed seventy-two prisoners on the 10th July. On the 16th the Morels came off with what money they had been able to procure, and bought some of our goods, behaving with much honour, and putting great confidence in us. On the 18th, a negro belonging to the Duchess was bitten by a small brown speckled snake, and died in twelve hours. There are many snakes in this island of Gorgona, and I saw one above three yards long, and as thick as my leg. The same morning the Mr Morels went off a second time in our bark for money; and this day one of the same kind of snakes that killed our negro was found on the forecastle of the Duke, having crawled up the cable, as we supposed, as they were often seen in the water.

On the 2d of August we were like to have had a mutiny, for the steward informed me that he understood many of the men had entered into a secret agreement, and he had heard some ringleaders boasting that sixty men had already signed the paper, but knew not the nature of their design. I immediately convened the officers in the cabin, where we armed ourselves, and soon secured four of the principal mutineers, putting the fellow who wrote the paper in irons. By this time all the people were on deck, and we had got their paper from those we had in custody; the purport of it being to refuse accepting the intended distribution of plunder, and not to move from this place, till they had what they termed justice

justice done them. Not knowing how far this mutiny might have been concerted with the people of the other ships, we agreed to discharge those in confinement, on asking pardon, and faithfully promising never to be guilty of the like again.

We sailed from Gorgona on the 11th August, and as our ships were now rather thinly manned, I engaged thirty-two of our negro prisoners to join our company, placing Michael Kendall, a free Jamaica negro, who had deserted to us from the Spaniards, as their leader, and charging him to exercise them in the use of arms. At the same time I supplied them with clothes, desiring them to consider themselves now as Englishmen, and no longer slaves to the Spaniards. After this we stood over to the bay of *Jecames*, [Atacames,] where the Indians are free; and with much ado entered into trade with them, by the help of a priest. We sent them three large wooden saints to adorn their church, which they took as a great present; and I sent a feathered cap to the wife of the chief, which was well accepted. We here sold some of our prize goods to good account, so that we had provisions very cheap. We sailed from hence on the 1st September, intending for the Gallapagos, and on the 8th we made one of these islands.

Next day we came to anchor in about thirty fathoms; and in the evening our boats brought us off a lading of excellent turtle, having sent our yawl and several men ashore previously to turn over these creatures in the night; but to no purpose, as we afterwards found they only came ashore in the day. The island off which we lay was high, rocky, and barren, with some low land next the sea, but now water was to be found, like those we had seen formerly. On the 12th the Duchess, which lay at anchor a good distance from us, had got about 150 land and sea-tortoises, but not generally so large as ours; while we had 120 turtles, but no land-tortoises as yet. The Marquis had the worst luck. On the 13th, I sent our pinnace to the place where the Duchess got land-tortoises, which returned at night with thirty-seven, and some salt they had found in a pond; and our yawl brought us twenty sea-turtles, so that we were now well provided. Some of the largest land-tortoises weighed 100 pounds; and the largest sea-turtles were upwards of 400 pounds weight. The land-tortoises laid eggs on our deck; and our men brought many of them from the land, pure white, and as large as a goose's egg, with a strong thick shell, exactly round.

These

These are the ugliest creatures that can well be imagined, the back-shell being not unlike the top of an old hackney-coach, as black as jet, and covered with a rough shrivelled skin. The neck and legs are long, and as big as a man's wrist, and they have club-feet as large as a fist, shaped much like those of an elephant, having five knobs, or thick nails, on each fore-foot, and only four on the hind-feet. The head is small, with a visage like that of a snake; and when first surprised they shrink up their head, neck, and legs under their shell. Some of our men affirmed that they saw some of these about four feet high, and of vast size; and that two men mounted on the back of one of these, whom it easily carried at its usual slow pace, not appearing to regard their weight. They supposed this one could not weigh less than 700 pounds. The Spaniards say that there are no others in these seas, except at the Gallapagos, but they are common in Brazil.

The 15th, being under sail with a fine breeze, we agreed to lay to till midnight. The 16th, seeing many islands and rocks to the westwards, we agreed to bear away, not caring to encumber ourselves among them during the night; but by six in the evening, from the mast-head, we could see so many low rocks, almost joining from island to island, that we seemed land-locked for more than three parts of the compass, and no way open except the S.W. whence we came. We resolved therefore to return that way, making short trips all night, and continually sounding, for fear of shoals, having from forty to sixty fathoms. The 18th and 19th we saw several more islands, one of them very large, which we supposed to be near the equator. At noon of the 19th we had an observation, making our latitude 2° 2′ N. We saw in all at least fifty islands, some of which we searched, and others we viewed from a distance, but none had the least appearance of fresh water.[9] Signior Morel told me that a Spanish man-of-war had been to an island in lat. 1° 20′ or 30′ S. 140 Spanish leagues west from the island of *Plata*, and to which they gave the name of *Santa Maria del Aguada*, a pleasant island with a good road, full of wood, and having plenty of water,

[9] In Cowley's voyage, formerly given, one of these islands, which he calls the Duke of York's Island, is said to have abundance of wood and water, but none to be had in any of the rest. Perhaps the Duke of York's Island of Cowley, and Santa Maria del Aguada of Morel, may be the same.—E.

water, with turtle and sea-tortoises in abundance. This I believe to have been the same island in which Davis the buccaneer recruited; and all the light he has left by which to find it again, is, that it is to the west of the islands he was at with the other buccaneers, which must be those we were twice at. We had no occasion to look out for this island on the present trip, though I believe it might easily have been found without farther directions. In these islands there are many kinds of sea-fowl, and some land-birds, particularly hawks and turtle-doves, both so very tame that we often knocked them down with sticks. I saw no kind of beasts, but there are guanas in abundance, and land-tortoises almost on every island, besides vast numbers of turtles or sea-tortoises. It is very strange how the land-tortoises have got here, as there are none on the main, and they could not have come of themselves. Some of these islands are the haunts of seals, but not in such numbers as at Juan Fernandez, neither is their fur so good. A very large one made at me three several times, and if I had not happened to have a pike-staff headed with iron, he might have killed me. I was on the level sand when he came open-mouthed at me from the water, as fierce and quick as an angry dog let loose. All the three times he made at me, I struck the pike into his breast, which at last forced him to retire into the water, snarling with an ugly noise, and shewing his long teeth. This animal was as big as a large bear.

On the 1st October we made the main-land of Mexico, which Captain Dampier immediately recognized as near the place where he had attacked the lesser Manilla ship in the St George. Our men began again to fall sick, and two of them dropped down on the deck in a kind of scorbutic appoplexy, but recovered on being let blood. The 2d we made *Cape Corientes*, on the coast of Mexico, in lat. 20° 25′ N. which we knew by our charts. Captain Dampier had been here, but it was a long time ago, and he did not seem to remember much of the matter; yet when he came to land at different places, he very readily recollected them. Our purpose now was to look for the islands called *Tres Marias*, to procure some refreshments, but found this somewhat difficult, being very uncertain as to their true situation. In the afternoon of the 4th, Cape Corientes bore E.N.E. about ten leagues, and next morning, being fine clear weather, we discovered two islands at the distance of about fourteen leagues, one

one bearing N. by W. and the other N. by E. At noon we had an observation, and found our latitude 20° 45′ N.

The sight of these islands was very satisfactory, for though our men had their fill of land and sea-turtle, which kept them from the scurvy, they were but weak, as that is but a faint food, except they had enough of bread or flour to eat with it; whereas they only had a pound and a quarter of bread or flour to five men per day, on purpose to husband our stock till we came to live entirely on salt-meat, when we should be under the necessity to allow more. On the 6th I sent a pinnace to the eastern island, to look if there were any good road, or convenience for wooding and watering; but the officer reported that the island had foul ground for near half a mile from the shore, with bad anchorage and worse landing; and though there was abundance of wood, no water was to be had. This was bad news for us, as our water began to grow scarce. We now bore up for the middle island, which Captain Dampier believed he had been at when he sailed with Captain Swan, and on which occasion they found water. On the 8th our boat returned from the middle island, they and the boat of the Duchess having landed at several places on the S.E. side of the island, where was plenty of good water. They saw no signs of any people having been there lately, but found a human skull on the ground. This was supposed to have belonged to one of two Indian chiefs, who were left there by Captain Swan, about twenty-three years before, as Dampier told us: for victuals being scarce with these buccaneers, they would not carry the poor Indians any farther, after they had served their turns, but left them to starve on this desolate island. The Marquis and bark having separated from us, we kept a light up all night, and made a fire on the island, that they might see where to find us at anchor; but not seeing them next morning at daybreak, I proposed to have gone in search of them; but Captain Courtney and the rest made light of the matter, believing they might soon come in without assistance, which they afterwards did.

The supply of cattle, hogs, and plantains we procured at Atacames lasted us to the Gallapagos, and we had fed on turtle ever since till the last two days, which was a great refreshment to our men, and husbanded our stock of European provisions. On the 9th, I sent an officer to view the other side of the island, who told me, on his return, it was much better than

than where we were, having several sandy bays, on which he had seen the tracks of turtle. On this intelligence I sent the boat back in the evening; and it came back next morning with a full load of turtle, leaving another load ready turned; and, what was of much more consequence, they found good water; whereas that we had gotten hitherto purged the men excessively. As we wooded, watered, and furnished ourselves with fresh provisions here, and as these islands are little known, some account of them may be acceptable.

The *Tres Marias*, or Three Marias, off the western coast of Guadalaxara, in the kingdom of Mexico, are in a range stretching from S.E. to N.W. of about forty-five English miles in length. The largest island is the N.W. which appeared a high double land, and above five leagues in length; the middle island about three leagues; and the south-eastermost hardly two leagues. There also are high lands, full of trees; and near the least island there are two or three small broken white islets, one of which was so like a ship under sail, that we gave the signal for a chase. The S.E. end of the island is in lat. 21° 10′ N. long. 105° 56′ W. and the N.W. point of the N. island is in lat. 21° 40′ N. long. 106° 26′ W. the distance from each being about two marine leagues. These islands have abundance of parrots of different sorts, with pigeons and other land-birds, of which we killed great numbers. There were also many excellent hares, but much smaller than ours. We saw likewise abundance of guanas, and some racoons, which barked and snarled at us like dogs, but were easily beaten off with sticks. The water is more worthy of remark than any other thing we saw here, as we only found two good springs, which ran in large streams; the others being bitter and disagreeable, proceeding, as I suppose, from being impregnated by shrubs or roots growing in the water, or from some mineral.

The turtle we found here are of a different sort from any I had ever seen, though very good. Though it is ordinarily believed that there are only three sorts of sea-turtles, yet we have seen six or seven sorts at different times, and our people have eaten of them all, except the very large *whooping* or *loggerhead* kind, which are found in great plenty in Brazil, some of them above 500 pounds weight. We did not eat of these, because at that time our provisions were plentiful. At the Gallapagos, both males and females were observed to come on shore only in the day time, quite different from what

I had

I had heard of them at other places; whereas all we caught here were by turning them over in the night, when the females come on shore to lay their eggs and bury them in the dry sand. One of these whom we caught had 800 eggs in her belly, 150 of which were skinned over and ready for being extruded at once. Some authors alledge that these eggs are six weeks in hatching, which I can hardly credit, as the sun makes the sand in which they are deposited excessively hot, and they are only covered by a very thin film or skin, instead of a shell. In order to ascertain this point, I made some of our men ashore watch one carefully, and mark the place and time of laying her eggs. In less than twelve hours they found the eggs addled, and in about twelve hours more they had young ones completely formed and alive. Had we remained some time longer, I might have thoroughly satisfied myself and others, respecting the quick production of tortoises; for I am apt to credit the report of several of our men, who asserted that having found eggs in the sand, and looked for them three days afterwards in the same place, they then found nothing but films; which shews that the young ones are hatched in that time. They assured me also that they had seen the young brood run out of the sand every day, making directly in great numbers for the sea.

There were few fish about the shores of this island, these being of the ordinary sorts usually met with in these seas; but the abundance of turtle at this time amply made up for this defect. The chief officers fed here deliciously, being scarcely ever without hares, turtle-doves, pigeons, and parrots of various colours and sizes, many of which had white or red heads, with tufts of feathers on their crowns. We found good anchorage at this middle island, and gradual soundings from twenty-four to four fathoms close by the shore; and between this and the least or southern island the depth was about the same as where we were, having no shoal between but what was visible, as a rock lay off the S.W. point and a shoal off the N.E. point of the same, with another at a great distance from that point of the least island, but neither were above half a mile from the shore.

Sailing from these islands, we saw land on the 1st November, which proved to be the point of California, or that headland called Cape St Ducas. It was now necessary to put in execution the rules we had formerly laid down for cruizing, as also to settle our regulations about plunder. Accordingly, my

my station was to be the outermost in the Duke, the Duchess in the middle, and the Marquis nearest the shore; the nearest ship to be at the least six leagues, and nine at the most from shore, and the bark to ply between ship and ship, carrying advice. By this means we could spread out fifteen leagues, and might see any thing that passed in the day within twenty leagues of the shore; and to prevent any ships passing in the night, we were to ply to windward all day, and to drive to leeward all night. On the 5th November, the Duchess went nearest shore, and the Marquis took the middle station. We were much encouraged by considering that in this very place, and about the same time of the year, Sir Thomas Candish took the Manilla ship.

On the 16th we sent our bark to look for fresh water on the main, and next morning she returned to us, reporting that they had seen wild Indians, who paddled to them on bark-logs. These Indians were fearful of coming near our people at first, but were soon prevailed upon to accept a knife or two and some baize, for which they gave in return two bladders of water, two live foxes, and a deer skin. Till now, we thought that the Spaniards had missionaries among these people, but finding them quite naked, with no appearance of any European commodities, nor a single word of the Spanish language, we concluded that they were quite savage, and we dispatched the bark and a boat a second time, in hopes of procuring some refreshments, with some trifles to distribute among the natives. On the 19th our men returned, having become very familiar with the Californians, who were the poorest wretches that could be imagined, and had no manner of refreshments whatever to afford us. They brought off some Indian knives made of sharks teeth, and a few other curiosities, which I preserved to shew what shifts may be made. It was now the 9th of December, near a month after the time when the Manilla ships generally fall in with this coast, and we were much embarrassed by the impossibility of procuring any intelligence respecting them. On examining our provisions, we found only bread on board for seventy days, even at our present short allowance, and it would require not less than fifty days for our run across the Pacific to Guam, one of the Ladrones; wherefore we resolved to continue our cruize here no longer than other eight days. Being in want of water also, it was agreed upon that the Marquis should go first into a harbour for that necessary article

article, while the Duke and Duchess continued on the look-out, and then these other ships to do the same in succession.

On the 21st December, while bearing up for the port in which was the Marquis, the man at the mast-head, about nine in the morning, gave notice that he saw a sail besides the Duchess and bark, seeming about seven leagues from us. We immediately hoisted our ensign, and bore for the strange sail, as did the Duchess; and as it fell calm, I sent the pinnace to endeavour to make out what she was. All the rest of the day we had very little wind, so that we made hardly any way, and as our boat did not return we remained in much anxiety, not knowing whether the ship in sight were our consort the Marquis, or the Manilla ship. In this uncertainty, I sent Mr Fry in our yawl to the Duchess, to endeavour to learn what this ship was, and as soon as the yawl was gone I hoisted French colours and fired a gun, which the stranger answered, and in some measure cleared our doubts. Mr Fry soon returned, bringing the joyful news that the ship in sight really was the Manilla galleon for which we had waited so long, and of which we were now almost in despair of meeting. This revived our courage, and every one actively prepared for the engagement; all our melancholy reflections on the shortness of our provisions for the run to Guam being now dispelled, and nothing now occupied our thoughts but of our being masters of the mighty treasure supposed to be on board this ship, while every moment seemed an hour till we could get up with her. We gave orders for the two pinnaces to keep with her all night, shewing false fires from time to time, that we might know whereabout they and the chase were; and it was agreed, if the Duke and Duchess could get up with her together, that we should board her at once. Before night we had made a clear ship, and had every thing in readiness for action at day-light; and all night long we kept a sharp look-out for the boats false fires, which we frequently saw and answered.

At day-break of the 22d December, 1709, we saw the chase about a league from us on our weather bow, the Duchess being a-head of her to leeward about half a league. About six a. m. our boat came aboard, having kept very near the chase all night without receiving any damage, and told us that the Duchess passed the chase in the night, at which time the chase fired two shots at her, which were not returned. Having no wind, we got out eight sweeps, with which we rowed

rowed for near an hour, when there sprung up a small breeze. I ordered a large kettle of chocolate to be prepared for the ship's company, having no spirituous liquor to give them, and then went to prayers; but were disturbed before these were finished, by the enemy firing at us. To deter us from attempting to board, they had barrels hung at their yard arms, which resembled barrels of powder. About eight a. m. we began to engage by ourselves, for the Duchess being still at leeward, had not been able to get up, as there was very little wind. At first the enemy fired at us with their stern-chase guns, which we returned with those on our bows, till at length we got close on board each other, when we gave her several broadsides, plying our small arms very briskly; which last the enemy returned as thick for a time, but did not fire their great guns half so fast as we. After some time, we shot a little a-head, laying the enemy athwart hawse close aboard, and plied her so warmly that she soon lowered her colours two-thirds down. By this time the Duchess had got up, and fired about five guns with a volley of small arms; but as the enemy had submitted she made no return.

We now sent our pinnace on board the prize, and brought away the captain and other officers; from whom we learnt that a larger ship had come from Manilla along with them, having forty-six brass guns and as many swivels, but they had parted company with her about three months before, and supposed she had got to Acapulco by this time, as she sailed better than this ship. Our prize had the following high-sounding name *Nostra Senoria de la Incarnacion Disenganio*, commanded by the Chevalier Jean Pichberty, a Frenchman. She had twenty guns and twenty pattereroes, with 193 men, of whom nine were killed, ten wounded, and several sore scorched with gun-powder. We engaged her three glasses, in which time only I and another were wounded. I was shot through the left cheek, the bullet carrying away great part of my upper jaw and several of my teeth, part of which dropt on the deck, where I fell. The other was William Powell, an Irish landman, who was slightly wounded in the buttock. After my wound, I was forced to write my orders, both to prevent the loss of blood, and because speaking gave me great pain. We received little damage in our rigging during the engagement, except that a shot disabled our mizen-mast.

On the 23d, after we had put our ship to rights, we stood in for the harbour where the Marquis was, distant about four

four leagues to the N.E. sending our surgeons on board the prize to dress her wounded men. We came to anchor in the harbour about four p. m. where we received the compliments of all on board the Marquis on our sudden and almost unlooked-for success, which gave us all much satisfaction. We found that ship in good condition and ready to sail, and all on board her in high spirits, eager for action. At eight the same evening we held a consultation on two important points: *first*, what we should do with our hostages; and, *secondly*, how we should act in regard to the other Manilla ship, which we still thought there was a strong probability of our taking, if we could remain here a little longer. As the hostages from Guayaquil, and the Chevalier Pichberty, brother to the famous Monsieur du Cass, appeared to be men of strict honour, we thought it was best to make the best terms we possibly could with them, and then set them at liberty. We had more difficulty in settling the other point in discussion, as to the mode of attacking the other Manilla ship. I was desirous of going out along with the Marquis on that service; but as some reflections had been cast on the Duchess for not engaging our late prize so soon as it was thought she might have done, Captain Courtney was absolutely bent on going out with his own ship and the Marquis, and having a majority in the committee, my proposal was overruled, and we in the Duke were reluctantly constrained to remain in harbour. It was agreed, however, that we should put ten of our best hands on board the Duchess, the better to enable her to engage the great Manilla ship, if she were fallen in with, and she and the Marquis sailed on Christmas-day. As soon as they were gone, we put part of the goods from our bark into the prize, in order to send away our prisoners in the bark; and as there were still due 4000 dollars of the Guayaquil ransom, we agreed to sell them the bark and her remaining cargo for 2000 dollars, taking the Chevalier de Pichberty's bill for 6000 dollars, payable in London, which he readily gave us, together with an acknowledgment under his hand that we had given him a good bargain. This matter being settled, we had only to look to our own safety while our consorts were out on their cruize for the Manilla ship. We posted two centinels on a hill, whence they had a clear view of the sea, with instructions to give us notice by a signal whenever they saw three ships in the offing, that we might have time to secure our prisoners, and to get out to the

the assistance of our consorts, as we expected they might have hot work, this other Manilla ship being much stronger and better manned than the one we had taken, and better provided in all respects.

On the afternoon of the 26th, our sentries made the appointed signal of seeing three ships; on which we immediately put all our prisoners into the bark, from which we removed her sails, and took away all our men, except two lieutenants and twenty-two men, whom we left to look after our prize and the prisoners. As the prisoners, though 170 in number, were secured in the bark, without sails, arms, rudder, or boat, and moored near a mile distant from our prize, there were more than sufficient for guarding them and giving them provisions and drink during our absence. This being arranged, we immediately weighed and stood to sea, in order to assist our consorts in attacking the great ship. Captain Dover thought proper to go on board the prize, instead of one of our lieutenants, whom he sent to me. I was still in a very weak condition, my head and throat being very much swelled, so that I spoke with great pain, and not loud enough to be heard at any distance; insomuch that all the chief officers and our surgeons wished me to remain in the prize, but I would not consent. We got under sail about seven p. m. and saw lights several times in the night, which we supposed to be false fires in the boats of our consorts. In the morning of the 27th at day-break, we saw three sail to windward, but so far distant that it was nine o'clock before we could make out which were our consorts and which the chase. At this time we could see the Duchess and the chase near together, and the Marquis standing to them with all the sail she could carry. We also made all the sail we could, but being three or four leagues to leeward, and having a very scant wind, we made little way. At noon they bore S.E. from us, being still three leagues right to windward. In the afternoon we observed the Marquis get up with the chase, and engage her pretty briskly; but soon fell to leeward out of cannon shot, where she lay a considerable time, which made us conclude that she was somehow disabled.

I sent away my pinnace well manned, with orders to dog the chase all night, making signals with false fires that she might not escape us; but before our boat could get up to them, the Marquis made sail again towards the chase, and went to it again briskly for more than four glasses. At this

time

time we saw the Duchess steer ahead to windward, clear of the enemy, as I supposed to stop her leaks or repair her rigging. Meanwhile the Marquis kept the enemy in play, till the Duchess again bore down, when each fired a broadside or two, and left off because it grew dark. They then bore south of us in the Duke, which was right to windward, distant about two leagues; and about midnight our boat came to us, having made false fires, which we answered. Our people had been on board both the Duchess and Marquis, the former of which had her foremast much disabled, the ring of an anchor shot away, one man killed and several wounded, having also received several shots in her upper works and one in her powder-room, but all stopt. The Duchess had engaged the enemy by herself the night before, which was what we took to be false fires, being too distant to hear the guns. At that time they could perceive the enemy to be in great disorder, her guns not being all mounted, and neither her nettings nor close quarters in order; so that, if it had been my good fortune in the Duke to have gone with the Duchess, we all believed we might then have carried this great ship by boarding; or, if the Duchess had taken most of the men out of the Marquis, which did not sail well enough to come up to her assistance in time, she alone might have taken her by boarding at once, before the Spaniards had experienced our strength, and become afterwards so well provided as encouraged them to be driving, giving us every opportunity to board them if we pleased.

Captain Cooke sent me word that he had nearly fired away all his powder and shot, but had escaped well in masts, rigging, and men; wherefore I sent him three barrels of powder and a proportion of shot; and I also sent Lieutenant Fry to consult with our consorts how we might best engage the enemy next morning. All this day and the ensuing night the chase made signals to us in the Duke, thinking us her consort, which we had already taken; and after dark she edged down towards us, otherwise I should not have been up with her next day, having very little wind and that against us. In the morning of the 28th, as soon as it was day, the wind veered at once, on which we put our ship about, and the chase fired first upon the Duchess, which was nearest her in consequence of the change of wind. The Duchess returned the fire briskly, and we in the Duke stood as near as we possibly could, firing our guns as we could

bring

bring them to bear upon the enemy. At this time the Duchess was athwart her hawse, firing very fast, and such of her shot as missed the enemy flew over us and between our masts, so that we ran the risk of receiving more harm from the Duchess than the enemy, if we had lain on her quarter and across her stern, which was my intention. We therefore took our station close along side, board and board, where we kept plying her with round shot only, using neither bar-shot nor grape, as her sides were too thick for these, and no men appeared in sight.

She lay driving, as we did also close aboard of her, the enemy keeping to their close quarters, so that we never fired our small arms unless when we saw a man appear, or a port open, and then we fired as quick as possible. We continued thus for four glasses, about which time we received a shot in our main-mast which much disabled it. Soon after this, the Duchess and we, still both firing, came back close under the enemy, and had like to have fallen on board of her, so that we could make little use of our guns. We then fell astern in our birth alongside, and at this time the enemy threw a fire-ball into the Duke from one of her tops, which blew up a chest of loaded arms and cartouch-boxes on our quarter-deck, and several cartridges in our steerage, by which Mr Vanburgh, the agent of our owners, and a Dutchman, were very much burnt; and it might have done us much more damage if it had not been soon extinguished. After getting clear, the Duchess stood in for the shore, where she lay braced to, mending her rigging. The Marquis fired several shots, but to little purpose, as her guns were small. We continued close aboard for some time after the Duchess drew off, till at last we received a second shot in our main-mast, not far from the other, which rent it miserably; insomuch that the mast settled towards the wound, and threatened to come by the board. Our rigging also being much shattered, we sheered off and brought to, making a signal to our consorts for a consultation; and in the interim got ordinary fishes up to support our main-mast as well as we could.

Captains Courtney and Cooke, with other officers, came aboard the Duke, in obedience to the signal, when we took the condition of our three ships into consideration. Their masts and rigging were much damaged, and we had no means of procuring any repairs. If we again engaged the enemy, we could not propose to do any more than we had done

done already, which evidently had not done her much harm, as we could perceive that few of our shots penetrated her sides to any purpose, and our small arms availed still less, as not one of their men were to be seen above board. Our main-mast was so badly wounded that the least additional injury would bring it down, and the fore-mast of the Duchess was in as bad a state. The fall of these masts might bring down others, and we should then lie perfect butts for the enemy to batter at, and his heavy guns might easily sink us. If we should attempt to carry her by boarding, we must necessarily run the risk of losing many of our men, with little prospect of success, as they had above treble our number to oppose us, not having now in all our three ships above 120 men fit for boarding, and these weak, as we had been long short of provisions. If, therefore, we attempted to board and were beaten off, leaving any of our men behind, the enemy would learn our strength, or weakness rather, and might go to the harbour and retake our prize, in spite of every thing we could do to hinder. Our ammunition also was now very short, and we had only enough to engage for a few glasses longer. All these circumstances being duly considered, together with the difficulty of procuring masts, and the time and provisions we must spend before we could get them fitted, we resolved to desist from any farther attempt upon the enemy, since our battering her signified little, and we had not sufficient strength to carry her by boarding. We determined therefore to keep her company till night, and then to lose her, after which to make the best of our way to the harbour where we had left our prize, to secure her.

We had engaged this ship first and last about seven glasses, during which we in the Duke had eleven men wounded, three of whom were scorched with gun-powder. I was again unfortunately wounded by a splinter in my left foot, just before the arms chest was blown up on the quarter-deck; and so severely that I had to lie on my back in great pain, being unable to stand. Part of my heel-bone was struck out, and all the foot just under the ankle cut above half through, my wound bleeding very much before it could be stopped and dressed, by which I was much weakened. In the Duchess above twenty men were killed and wounded, one of the slain and three of the wounded belonging to my ship, which had been lent when I was left in the harbour. The

 Marquis

Marquis had none killed or wounded, but two of her men were scorched by gun-powder. The enemy was the *Vigoniæ*, a brave and lofty new ship, admiral of Manilla, and this her first voyage. She was calculated to carry 60 guns, and had above 40 mounted, with as many pattereroes, all brass, and, as we were informed, had a complement of 450 men, of whom 150 were Europeans, besides passengers. We were told also that several of her crew had formerly been pirates, who had all their wealth on board, and were resolved to defend it to the last extremity. The gunner was said to be a very expert man, and had provided extraordinarily for defence, which enabled them to make a desperate resistance; and they had filled all her sides between the guns with bales of soft goods, to secure the men.

During the whole action she kept the Spanish flag flying at her mast-head. We could observe that we had shattered her sails and rigging very much, and had slain two men in her tops, besides bringing down her mizen-yard; but this was all the visible damage we had done them, though we certainly placed 500 round shot in her hull, which were six-pounders. These large ships are built at Manilla of excellent timber, which does not splinter, and their sides are much thicker and stronger than those of the ships built in Europe. Thus ended our attempt on the biggest Manilla ship, which I have heard related in so many ways at home, that I have thought it necessary to give a very particular account of the action, as I find it set down in my journal. Generally speaking, the ships from Manilla are much richer than the prize we had taken; for she had waited a long time for the Chinese junks to bring silks, which not arriving, she came away with her cargo made out by means of abundance of coarse goods. Several of the prisoners assured me that a Manilla ship was commonly worth ten millions of dollars; so that, if it had not been for the accidental non-arrival of the junks from China that season, we had gotten an extraordinarily rich prize. After my return to Europe, I met a sailor in Holland who had been in the large ship when we engaged her, and who communicated to me a reason why we could not have taken her at all events. Her gunner kept constantly in the powder-room, and declared that he had taken the sacrament to blow up the ship if we had boarded her, which accordingly made the men exceedingly resolute in her defence. I the more readily gave credit to what this man

man told me, as he gave a regular and circumstantial account of the engagement, conformable to what I have given from my journal.

It is hardly to be doubted that we might have set this great ship on fire, by converting one of our ships into a fire-ship for that purpose: But this was objected to by all our officers, because we had goods of value on board all our ships. The enemy on this occasion was the better provided for us, having heard at Manilla, through our British settlements in India, that two small ships had been fitted out at Bristol for an expedition into the South Sea, and of which Captain Dampier was pilot. On this account it was that they had so many Europeans on board the great ship, most of whom had all their wealth along with them, for which they would fight to the utmost; and it having been agreed to pay no freight on the gun-decks, they had filled up all the spaces between the guns with bales of goods, to secure the men. The two ships were to have joined at Cape Lucas, expecting to meet us off Cape Corientes or Navidad.

We returned again into our port on the coast of California on the 1st January, 1710, and being resolved to make as quick dispatch as possible for our passage to the East Indies, we immediately parted with our prisoners, giving them the bark with a sufficiency of water and provisions to carry them to Acapulco. We then occupied ourselves to the 7th in refitting and laying in a stock of wood and water; and had much satisfaction in finding as much bread in our prize as might serve for our long run to Guam, with the aid of the scanty remains of our old stock. After a long disputatious negociation, it was settled that Mr Fry and Mr Stratton were to take charge of our prize, which we named the Bachelor, though under Captain Dover, but they were not to be contradicted by him in the business, as his business was to see that nothing was done in her contrary to the interest of our owners and ships companies, he being in the nature of agent, only with the title of chief captain. At the same time, we put on board of this ship 35 men from the Duke, 25 from the Duchess, and 13 from the Marquis, making in all 73 men, which, with 36 Manilla Indians, called *Las-Cars*, and some other prisoners we still had remaining, made up her complement to 115 men.

SECTION

Section III.

Sequel of the Voyage, from California, by Way of the East Indies, to England.

We weighed anchor on the 10th January, 1710, from Porto Leguro, on the coast of California, but were becalmed under the shore till the afternoon of the 12th, when a breeze sprang up which soon carried us out of sight of land. Being very slenderly provided, we were forced to allow only a pound and a half of flour, and one small piece of beef, to five men in a mess, together with three pints of water a man, for twenty-four hours, to serve both as drink and for dressing their victuals. We also lowered ten of our guns into the hold, to ease our ship. On the 16th the Bachelor made a signal that she could spare us some additional bread, having discovered a considerable store of bread and sweet-meats, though very little flesh meat. Accordingly, we in the Duke had a thousand weight of bread for our share, the Duchess had as much, and the Marquis five hundred weight; and in return we sent them two casks of flour, one of English beef, and one of pork, as they had only left forty-five days provisions of flesh. We now agreed to proceed in a W.S.W. course till we reached the latitude of 13° N. and to keep in that parallel till we should make the island of Guam, being informed by our Spanish pilot that the parallel of 14° was dangerous, by reason of certain islands and shoals, on which a Spanish ship had been lost some time ago.

On the 11th March we had sight both of *Guam* and *Serpana*, the former bearing W.S.W. five leagues off, and the latter N.N.W. seven leagues. The Spaniards say there is a great shoal between these islands, but nearest to Serpana. While running along the shore of Guam there came several flying proas to look at us, but run past with great swiftness, and none of the people would venture on board. The necessity of our stopping at this island for a supply of provisions was very great, our sea store being almost exhausted, and what remained being in a very ordinary condition, especially our bread and flour, of which we had not enough for fourteen days, even at the shortest allowance. In order to procure provisions readily, we endeavoured to get some of the

the natives on board from the proas, that we might detain them as hostages, in case of having to send any of our men to the governor. While turning into the harbour under Spanish colours, one of the proas came under our stern, in which were two Spaniards, who came on board in consequence of being assured that we were friends. Soon after we sent a respectful letter to the governor, to which we next day received a civil answer, and a generous offer of any thing we needed that the island could supply. Several of our officers went ashore to wait upon the governor on the 16th, and were well received and elegantly entertained; making the governor a present of two negro boys dressed in rich liveries, twenty yards of scarlet cloth, and six pieces of cambric, with which he seemed to be much pleased, and promised in return to give us every assistance in his power.

Next day, accordingly, we had a large supply of provisions, our share in the Duke being about sixty hogs, ninety-nine fowls, twenty-four baskets of maize, fourteen bags of rice, forty-two baskets of yams, and 800 cocoa-nuts. We afterwards got some bullocks, fourteen to each ship, being small lean cattle, yet gladly accepted, to which were afterwards added two cows and two calves to each ship; and we made a handsome present to the deputy governor, who was very active in getting our provisions collected. Leaving Guam, we proposed to go for some way directly west, to clear some islands that were in the way, and then to steer for the S.E. part of Min-danao, and from thence the nearest way to Ternate. In the afternoon of the 14th April we made land, which bore from us W.N.W. ten leagues, and which we supposed to be the N.E. part of Celebes. This day we saw three water-spouts, one of which had like to have fallen on board the Marquis, but the Duchess broke it before it reached her by firing two guns. On the 18th May, we passed through between the high land of New Guinea and the island of Gilolo, and on the 20th we made another high island which we took to be Ceram, yet, notwithstanding the skill and experience of Captain Dampier, we were at a loss to know whether it were Ceram or Bouro. On the 24th, at noon, we made our latitude 4° 30′ S. and estimated our longitude at 237° 29′ W. from London, and being in the latitude of the southern part of Bouro,[1] we imputed

[1] The south part of Bouro is only in lat. 3° 50′ S. and about 233° W. from Greenwich, or London.—E.

imputed our not seeing it to the currents setting us to the westwards. We designed to have touched at Amboina for refreshments, but the S.E. monsoon was already set in, and we were out of hope of being able to reach that place. In a consultation on the 25th, we resolved not to spend time in searching for Bouro, and also to desist from attempting to go to Amboina, and to make the best of our way for the Straits of Bouton, where we hoped to get sufficient provisions to carry us to Batavia. We got into a fine large bay in Bouton, where we sent our pinnace on shore, which brought off some cocoa-nuts, reporting there were plenty to be had, and that the Malay inhabitants seemed friendly.

Up this bay we saw several houses and boats, and many of the Malay natives walking about on the beach. We here sent our boats for provisions and pilots while the ships turned up the bay nearer to the town. On sounding frequently we could find no ground, but the natives told us of a bank opposite the town on which we might anchor. In the meantime abundance of people came off to us, bringing wheat, cocoa-nuts, yams, potatoes, papaws, hens, and several other kinds of birds, to truck for cloths, knives, scissars, and toys. These people were to appearance very civil, being Mahometans of middle stature and dark tawny complexions, but their women somewhat clearer than the men. The men that came off were all naked, except a cloth round their middles, but some of the better sort had a sort of loose waistcoat, and a piece of linen rolled round their heads, with a cap of palm leaves to keep off the scorching rays of the sun. Along the shore we saw several weirs for catching fish. In turning up, the prize lost ground considerably, as the current was strong against us, wherefore the Duchess fired a gun in the evening to recall us and the Marquis, and which we ran out and drove all night. The names of these two islands forming this bay are *Cambava* and *Waushut*, being in lat. 5° 15′ S. and long. 238° W. from London.[2] Being much in want of water and provisions, we made another effort to get back to this bay; and on the 30th, a proa came to us from the king of Bouton, having a noble on board without either shoes or stockings, and a pilot to carry us up to the town. He brought each commander a piece of striped Bouton cloth, a bottle

[2] Cambaya, a considerable island to the W. of Bouton, is in lat. 5° 20′ S. and long. 237° 40′ W. from Greenwich, nearly in the situation pointed out in the text.—E.

bottle of arrack, some baskets of rice, and otther articles, as presents from the king; yet the first thing he said on coming aboard, was to ask us how we durst venture to come here to anchor, without first having leave from the great king of Bouton?

This proa brought us letters from our officers that had been sent to wait upon the king, and to endeavour to procure provisions, which stated that they had been well received, and that the town in which the king resided was large and fortified, and had several great guns. We sent back a present to the king by his messenger, and five guns were fired by each of our ships at his departure, with which he seemed well pleased. We wooded and watered at the island of *Sampo*, and several proas came off to us with fowls, maize, pompions, papaws, lemons, Guinea corn, and other articles, which they trucked for knives, scissars, old clothes, and the like. The people were civil, but sold every thing very dear; and as our officers staid longer at the town than was intended, we began to suspect they were detained, as the Mahometans are very treacherous. We heard from them, however, every day; and on the 5th Mr Connely came down, and told us there were four lasts of rice coming down from the king, for which it had been agreed to pay 600 dollars, and that Mr Vanburgh had been detained in security of payment. The rice came next morning, and was distributed equally among our four ships, some great men coming along with it to receive the money. At this time also we in our turn detained a Portuguese who came from the king, till our boat should be allowed to return; and after this, provisions became more plentiful and cheaper.

The town of *Bouton* is built on the acclivity of a hill, and on the top of the hill is a fort surrounded by an old stone wall, on which some guns and pattereroes are placed. The king and a considerable number of people dwell in this fort, in which a market is held every day for the sale of provisions. The king has five wives, besides several concubines, being attended by four men carrying great canes with silver heads, who are called *pury bassas*, and who seem to manage all his affairs. His majesty goes always bare-footed and bare-legged, being for the most part clad like a Dutch skipper, with a sort of green gauze covering strewed with spangles over his long black hair; but when he appears in state, he wears a long calico gown over his jacket, and sits on

on a chair covered with red cloth. He is always attended by a sergeant and six men armed with match-locks; besides three others, one of whom wears a head-piece and carries a large drawn scymitar, another has a shield, and a third a large fan. Four slaves sit at his feet, one holding his betel box, another a lighted match, the third his box of tobacco for smoking, and the fourth a spitting bason. The petty kings and other great men sit on his left hand and before him, every one attended by a slave, and they chew betel or tobacco in his presence, sitting cross-legged, and when they speak to him they lift their hands joined to their foreheads.

The town of Bouton is very populous, and beside it runs a fine river, said to come from ten miles up the country. The tide ebbs and flows a considerable way up this river, which has a bar at its mouth, so that boats cannot go in or come out at low water. At least 1500 boats belong to this river, fifty of which are war proas, armed with pattereroes, and carrying forty or fifty men each. Fifty islands are said to be tributary to this king, who sends his proas once a year to gather their stated tribute, which consists in slaves, every island giving him ten inhabitants out of every hundred. There is one mosque in Boutan, which is supplied with priests from Mocha, the people being Mahometans. They are great admirers of music, their houses are built on posts, and their current money is Dutch coins and Spanish dollars. On the 7th our pinnace returned with Mr Vanburgh and all our people, having parted from his majesty on friendly terms, but could not procure a pilot. We resolved, however, not to stay any longer, but to trust to Providence for our future preservation; wherefore we began to unmoor our ships, and dismissed our Portuguese linguist.

Next day, the 8th June, we made three islands to the north of *Salayer*. On the 10th our pinnace came up with a small vessel, the people on board of which said they were bound for the Dutch factory of Macasser on the S.W. coast of Celebes. The pinnace brought away the master of this vessel, who engaged to pilot us through the Straits of Salayer and all the way to Batavia, if we would keep it secret from the Dutch, and he sent his vessel to lie in the narrowest part of the passage between the islands, till such time as our ships came up. On the 14th we passed the island of Madura, and on the 17th we made the high land of Cheribon, which

which bore S.W. from us. This morning we saw a great ship right ahead, to which I sent our pinnace for news. She was a ship of Batavia of 600 tons and fifty guns, plying to some of the Dutch factories for timber. Her people told us that we were still thirty Dutch leagues from Batavia, but there was no danger by the way, and they even supplied us with a large chart, which proved of great use to us. Towards noon we made the land, which was very low, but had regular soundings, by which we knew how to sail in the night by means of the lead; in the afternoon we saw the ships in the road of Batavia, being between thirty and forty sail great and small; and at six in the evening we came to anchor, in between six and seven fathoms, in the long-desired port of Batavia, in lat. 6° 10′ S. and long. 252° 51′ W. from London.[3] We had here to alter our account of time, having lost almost a day in going round the world so far in a western course.

After coming in sight of Batavia, and more especially after some sloops or small vessels had been aboard of us, I found that I was quite a stranger to the dispositions and humours of our people, though I had sailed so long with them. A few days before they were perpetually quarrelling, and a disputed lump of sugar was quite sufficient to have occasioned a dispute. But now, there was nothing but hugging and shaking of hands, blessing their good stars, and questioning if such a paradise existed on earth; and all because they had arrack for eight-pence a gallon, and sugar for a penny a pound. Yet next minute they were all by the ears, disputing about who should put the ingredients together; for the weather was so hot, and the ingredients so excessively cheap, that a little labour was now a matter of great importance among them.

Soon after our arrival at Batavia we proceeded to refit our ships, beginning with the Marquis; but on coming down to her bends, we found both these and the stern and stern-port so rotten and worm-eaten, that on a survey of carpenters she was found incapable of being rendered fit for proceeding round the Cape of Good Hope, on which we had to hire a vessel to take in her loading. We then applied ourselves to refit the other ships,

[3] The latitude in the text is sufficiently accurate, but the longitude is about a degree short. It ought to have been 253° 54′ W. from Greenwich.—E.

ships, which we did at the island of Horn, not being allowed to do so at *Onrust*, where the Dutch clean and careen all their ships. We hove down the Duke and Duchess and Bachelor, the sheathing of which ships were very much worm-eaten in several places. In heaving down, the Duchess sprung her fore-mast, which we replaced by a new one. When the ships were refitted, we returned to Batavia road, where we rigged three of them, and sold the Marquis, after taking out all her goods and stores, and distributing her officers and men into the others. During our stay at Batavia, the weather was exceedingly hot, and many of our officers and men fell sick, among whom I was one, the prevalent disease being the flux, of which the master of the Duke and gunner of the Duchess died, and several of our men. A young man belonging to the Duchess, having ventured into the sea to swim, had both his legs snapped off by a shark, and while endeavouring to take him on board, the shark bit off the lower part of his belly. We were allowed free access to the town and markets, yet found it difficult to procure salt-meat, so that we had to kill bullocks for ourselves, and pickled the flesh, taking out all the bones. Arrack, rice, and fowls were very cheap, and we bought beef for two *stivers*, or two-pence a pound.

There are various descriptions of this famous city, yet, as what I have to say may serve to exhibit a state of things as they were when we were there, I flatter myself that the following succinct account may neither be found useless nor disagreeable. The city of Batavia is situated on the N.W. side of the famous island of Java, in lat. 5° 50′ S.[4] During the whole year the east and west monsoons, or trade-winds, blow along shore; besides which it is refreshed by the ordinary land and sea breezes, which greatly cool the air, otherwise it would be intolerably hot. The summer begins here in May, and continues till the end of October, or beginning of November, during all which period there is a constant breeze from the east, with a clear serene sky. The winter commences in the end of October, or beginning of November, with excessive rains, which sometimes continue for three or four days without intermission. In December the west-wind blows with such violence as to stop all navigation on the coast of

[4] The latitude of Batavia is 6° 15′ S. and its longitude 106° 7′ E. from Greenwich.—E.

of Java. In February the weather is changeable, with frequent sudden thunder-gusts. They begin to sow in March; June is the pleasantest month; and in September they gather in their rice, and cut the sugar-canes. In October they have abundance of fruits and flowers, together with plants and herbs in great variety. Around the city there is an extensive fenny plain, which has been greatly improved and cultivated by the Dutch; but to the east it still remains encumbered by woods and marshes. The city of Batavia is of a square form, surrounded by a strong wall, on which are twenty-two bastions, and has a river running through it into the sea. About the year 1700 there was a great earthquake in Java, which overturned some part of the mountains in the interior of the island, by which the course of the river was altered; and since then the canals in Batavia and the neighbourhood have not been nearly so commodious as formerly, nor has the entrance of the river been so deep; and for want of a strong current to keep it open, the Dutch have been obliged to employ a great machine to preserve the navigation of the mouth of the river, so as to admit small vessels into the canals which pervade the city.

Batavia lies in a bay in which there are seventeen or eighteen islands, which so effectually protect it from the sea, that though large, the road is very safe. The banks of the canals are faced on both sides with stone quays, as far as the boom, which is shut up every night, and guarded by soldiers. All the streets are in straight lines, most of them being above thirty feet broad on both sides, besides the canals, and they are all paved with bricks next the houses. All the streets are well-built and fully inhabited, fifteen of them having canals for small vessels, communicating with the main river, and shut up by booms, at which they pay certain tolls for admission; and these canals are crossed by fifty-six bridges, mostly of stone. There are numerous country-seats around the city, most of them neat and well contrived, with handsome fruit and flower gardens, ornamented with fountains and statues; and vast quantities of cocoa-nut trees planted in numerous groves, every where afford delightful shade. Batavia has many fine buildings, particularly the Cross-church, which is handsomely built of stone, and very neatly fitted up within. There are two or three other churches for the Dutch presbyterians, and two for the Portuguese catholics, who are a mixed race, besides one church for the Malay protestants. In the

the centre of the city is the town-house, handsomely built of brick in form of a square, and two stories high. In this all the courts are held, and all matters respecting the civil government of the city are determined. There are also hospitals, speir-houses, and rasp-houses, as in Amsterdam, with many other public buildings, not inferior to those of most European cities.

The Chinese are very numerous, and carry on the greatest trade here, farming most of the excise and customs, being allowed to live according to their own laws, and to exercise their idolatrous worship. They have a chief of their own nation, who manages their affairs with the company, by which they are allowed great privileges, having even a representative in the council, who has a vote when any of their nation is tried for his life. These high privileges are only allowed to such of the Chinese as are domicilled here, all others being only permitted to remain six months in the city, or on the island of Java. The Chinese have also a large hospital for their sick and aged, and manage its funds so well, that a destitute person of that nation is never to be seen on the streets.

The Dutch women have here much greater privileges than in Holland, or any where else; as on even slight occasions they can procure divorces from their husbands, sharing the estate between them. A lawyer at this place told me, that he has known, out of fifty-eight causes depending at one time before the council-chamber, fifty-two of them for divorces. Great numbers of native criminals are chained in pairs, and kept to hard labour under a guard, in cleaning the canals and ditches of the city, or in other public works. The castle of Batavia is quadrangular, having four bastions connected by curtains, all faced with white stone, and provided with watch-houses. Here the Dutch governor-general of India, and most of the members of the council of the Indies reside, the governor's palace being large, and well-built of brick. In this palace is the council-chamber, with the secretary's office, and chamber of accounts. The garrison usually consists of 1000 men; but the soldiers are generally but poorly appointed, except the governor's guards, who have large privileges, and make a fine appearance.

The governor-general lives in as great splendour as if he were a king, being attended by a troop of horse-guards, and a company of halberdeers, in uniforms of yellow sattin, richly

ly adorned with silver-lace and fringes, which attend his coach when he appears abroad. His lady also is attended by guards and a splendid retinue. The governor is chosen only for three years, from the twenty-four counsellors, called the *Radts* of India, twelve of whom must always reside in Batavia. Their soldiers are well trained, and a company is always on duty at each of the gates of the city and citadel; and there are between seven and eight thousand disciplined Europeans in and about the city, who can be assembled in readiness for action on a short warning.

Besides Europeans and Chinese, there are many Malays in Batavia, and other strangers from almost every country in India. The Javanese, or ancient natives, are very numerous, and are said to be a proud barbarous people. They are of dark complexions, with flat faces, thin, short, black hair, large eyebrows, and prominent cheeks. The men are strong-limbed, but the women small. The men wear a calico wrapper, three or four times folded round their bodies; and the women are clothed from their arm-pits to their knees. They usually have two or three wives, besides concubines; and the Dutch say that they are much addicted to lying and stealing. The Javans who inhabit the coast are mostly Mahometans; but those living in the interior are still pagans. The women are not so tawny as the men, and many of them are handsome; but they are generally amorous, and unfaithful to their husbands, and are apt to deal in poisoning, which they manage with much art.

Batavia is very populous, but not above a sixth part of the inhabitants are Dutch. The Chinese here are very numerous; and the Dutch acknowledge that they are more industrious and acute traders than themselves. They are much encouraged, because of the great trade carried on by them, and the great rents they pay for their shops, besides large taxes, and from sixteen to thirty per cent. interest for money, which they frequently borrow from the Dutch. I was told, that there were about 80,000 Chinese in and about Batavia, who pay a capitation-tax of a dollar each per month for liberty to wear their hair, which is not permitted in their own country ever since the Tartar conquest. There generally come here every year from China, fourteen or sixteen large flat-bottomed junks, of from three to five hundred tons burden. The merchants come along with their goods, which are lodged in different partitions in the vessels, as in separate warehouses,

warehouses, for each of which they pay a certain price, and not for the weight or measure of the cargo, as with us, so that each merchant fills up his own division as they please. They come here with the easterly monsoon, usually arriving in November or December, and go away again for China in the beginning of June. By means of these junks the Dutch have all kinds of Chinese commodities brought to them, and at a cheaper rate than they could bring them in their own vessels.

Batavia is the metropolis of the Dutch trade and settlements in India, and is well situated for the spice trade, which they have entirely in their own hands. There are seldom less than twenty sail of Dutch ships at Batavia, carrying from thirty to fifty and sixty guns each. Abraham van Ribeck was governor-general when we were there. His predecessor, as I was informed, had war with the natives of the island, who had like to have ruined the settlement; but, by sowing divisions among the native princes, he at length procured peace upon advantageous conditions. This is one of the pleasantest cities I ever saw, being more populous than Bristol, but not so large. They have schools for teaching all necessary education, even for Latin and Greek, and have a printing-house. There are many pleasant villas, or country seats, about the city; and the adjacent country abounds in rice, sugar-plantations, gardens, and orchards, with corn and sugar-mills, and mills for making gunpowder. They have also begun to plant coffee, which thrives well, so that they will shortly be able to load a ship or two; but I was told it is not so good as what comes from Arabia.

We sailed from Batavia on the 14th October, 1710, and on the 19th came to anchor in a bay about a league W. from Java head, and remained till the 28th, laying in wood and water. The 15th December we made the land of southern Africa, in lat. 34° 2′ S. And on the 18th we anchored in Table Bay in six fathoms, about a mile from shore. We remained here till the 5th April, waiting to go home with the Dutch fleet, and on that day fell down to Penguin Island, whence we sailed on the 6th for Europe. On the 14th July we spoke a Dane bound for Ireland, who informed us that a Dutch fleet of ten sail was cruizing for us off Shetland, which squadron we joined next day. On the 23d we got sight of the coast of Holland, and about eight p. m. came all safe to anchor in the Texel, in six fathoms, about two miles off

off shore. In the afternoon of the 24th I went up to Amsterdam, where I found letters from our owners, directing us how to act as to our passage from thence home. On the 30th we got some provisions from Amsterdam. On the 22d August we weighed from the Texel, but the wind being contrary, had to return next morning. We weighed again on the 30th, and on the 1st October came to anchor in the Downs, and on the 14th of that month got safe to *Eriff*, where we ended our long and fatiguing voyage.

It appears, by incidental information in Harris, I. 198, That the outfit of this voyage did not exceed £14,000 or £15,000, and that its gross profits amounted to £170,000, half of which belonged to the owners; so that they had £85,000 to divide, or a clear profit of £466 13*s*. 4*d*. *per centum*, besides the value of the ships and stores.—E.

CHAPTER XI.

VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD, BY CAPTAIN JOHN CLIPPERTON, IN 1719-1722.[1]

INTRODUCTION.

ABOUT the beginning of 1718, some English merchants resolved to fit out two ships for a cruizing voyage to the South Sea, in hopes of having equal success with the expedition under Woods Rogers, and provided two fine ships, the Speedwell and Success, every way fit for the purpose. But as the war which was expected between Great Britain and Spain did not take place so soon as was expected, they applied for commissions from the Emperor Charles VI. who was then at war with Philip V. King of Spain. Captain George Shelvocke, who had served as a lieutenant in the royal navy, was accordingly sent with the Speedwell to Ostend, there to wait for the imperial commissions, and to receive certain Flemish officers and seamen, together with as much wine and brandy as might serve both ships during their long voyage, being cheaper there than in England. This was in November 1718, and both to shew respect to the imperial court, and to have the appearance of a German expedition, the names of the ships were changed to the Prince Eugene and the Staremberg.

Having taken on board six Flemish officers and ninety men, Captain Shelvocke sailed from Ostend for the Downs, where the other ship had waited for him some time. War having begun between Great Britain and Spain, and finding that the Flemings and Englishmen did not agree, the owners laid aside all thoughts of using the imperial commission, and to send back all their Flemish officers and men to Flanders, with an allowance of two months wages, and procured

[1] Harris, I. 184.

cured a commission from George I. restoring the original names of their ships. The Speedwell carried twenty-four guns and 106 men, and the Success thirty-six guns and 180 men; the former commanded by Captain George Shelvocke, who was to have had the chief command in the expedition, and the other by Captain John Clipperton, who had formerly sailed with Dampier as mate, and of whose adventures after his separation from Dampier, an account has been already given.

In consequence of some change of circumstances, perhaps owing to some improper conduct when in Flanders, the proprietors now took the chief command from Shelvocke, and conferred it upon Clipperton, a man of a blunt, rough, and free-speaking disposition, but of a strict regard to his duty and rigid honesty. Though somewhat passionate, he was soon appeased, and ever ready to repair any injury he had done when heated with anger, and had much justice and humanity in his nature. Under Captain Shelvocke in the Speedwell, Simon Hately was appointed second captain; he who had formerly lost company with Woods Rogers among the Gallapagos islands, and had remained a considerable time prisoner among the Spaniards.

The instructions for this voyage from the owners were, that they were to proceed in the first place for Plymouth, whence they were to sail with the first fair wind for Cape Horn or the Straits of Magellan, as was found most convenient for their passage into the South Sea. They were then to cruize on the coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, and to endeavour, if possible, to meet and capture the Manilla ship. To prevent all disputes and disorders, they were enjoined to be careful above all things not to separate from each other, and to undertake nothing of importance without holding a council of officers, stating the question to be debated in writing, and drawing up the resolution in writing, with the reasons on which they were grounded, which were to be signed by all the officers. All these precautions proved in a great measure useless, as the expedition wore an unfortunate aspect from the very beginning. The ships were forced to remain three months at Plymouth, waiting for a wind; in which time every thing fell into confusion, and factions were formed, in which the crews of both ships were involved, from the captains down to the cabin boys. Captain Shelvocke highly resented the affront offered him in being deprived of the chief command; and Captain Clipperton,

knowing the other's resentment, and being a boisterous man of strong passions which he could not conceal, there was nothing but debates and disputes. Every post carried complaints to the proprietors, and brought down instructions, reproofs, and exhortations to concord. It had been fortunate for the proprietors, if they had removed one or both of the commanders; but every one had too much concern to retain his friend in post, so that private views proved the cause of public ruin.—*Harris.*

Section I.

Narrative of the Voyage, from England to Juan Fernandez.

Having at length a fair wind, the two ships sailed in company from Plymouth on the 13th February, 1719. It singularly happened that the Speedwell had still on board the whole stock of wine, brandy, and other liquors, designed for the supply of both ships. On the 19th at night, there arose a violent storm, and on the 20th the storm abated about two in the afternoon, when Captain Clipperton in the Success made sail, steering S. by E. while Captain Shelvocke in the Speedwell bore away N.W. So that they never again saw each other, till they afterwards met by mere accident in the South Sea.

Being now at sea without his consort, and very indifferently provided, Captain Clipperton found himself under the necessity of using a discretionary power of dispensing in some respect from his instructions; but which freedom he rarely exercised, and then with the utmost caution. In all essential points he carefully complied with the instructions, constantly consulting with his officers, and doing his utmost to prosecute his voyage with effect. The first place of rendezvous appointed in case of separation was the Canaries, for which he sailed with such expedition that he arrived there on the 6th of March. Having taken in refreshments there, for which he had much occasion, as all his liquors were in the Speedwell, Clipperton cruized on that station for ten days, as directed by his instructions, but not meeting his consort, he resolved to proceed to the next place appointed for that purpose, the Cape de Verd islands.

The Canary Islands, or *Islands of Dogs*, so named by the Spaniards

Spaniards when discovered by them in 1402, because they found here a great number of these animals, were known to the ancients by the name of the Fortunate Islands, because of their fertility and the excellent temperature of their air. They are seven in number, Lancerota, Fuerteventura, Grand Canary, Teneriffe, Geomero, Hiero or Ferro, and Palma. *Grand Canary* is far distant from the others, and contains 9000 inhabitants, being the seat of the bishop, the inquisition, and the royal council which governs all the seven islands. In Teneriffe is the famous mountain called *Terraira*, or the Peak of Teneriff, supposed to be the highest in the world, and which may be distinctly seen at the distance of sixty leagues. There is no reaching the top of this mountain except in July and August, because covered at all other times with snow, which is never to be seen at other places of that island, nor in the other six, at any season of the year. It requires three days journey to reach the summit of the peak, whence all the Canary islands may be seen, though some of them are sixty leagues distant. *Hiero* or *Ferro* is one of the largest islands in this group, but is very barren, and so dry that no fresh water is to be found in it, except in some few places by the sea, very troublesome and even dangerous to get it from. "But, to remedy this inconvenience, Providence has supplied a most extraordinary substitute, as there grows almost in every place a sort of tree of considerable size, incomparably thick of branches and leaves, the latter being long and narrow, always green and lively. This tree is always covered by a little cloud hanging over it, which wets the leaves as if by a perpetual dew, so that fine clear water continually trickles down from them into little pails set below to catch it as it falls, and which is in such abundant quantity as amply to supply the inhabitants and their cattle."[1]

These islands are generally fertile, and abound with all kinds of provisions, as cattle, grain, honey, wax, sugar, cheese, and skins. The wine of this country is strong and well-flavoured, and is exported to most parts of the world; and the Spanish ships bound for America usually stop at these islands to lay in a stock of provisions. About 100 leagues to the west of these islands, mariners are said to have frequently seen an island named *St Baranora*, which they allege is all over green and very pleasant, full of trees, and abounding in provisions, as

[1] This strange story seems entirely fabulous.—E.

as also that it is inhabited by Christians; but no person can tell what sect or denomination they are of, nor what language they speak. The Spanish inhabitants of the Canaries have often attempted to go there, but could never find the way; whence some believe that it is only an illusion or enchanted island, seen only at certain times. Others allege a better reason, saying that it is small and almost always concealed by clouds, and that ships are prevented from coming near it by the strength of the currents. It is certain however, that there is such an island, and at the distance from the Canaries already mentioned.[2]

Leaving Gomera on the 15th March, Clipperton came in sight of St Vincent, one of the Cape de Verd islands, in the evening of the 21st, and came to anchor in the bay next morning. He here found a French ship, and the Diamond belonging to Bristol, taking in a cargo of asses for Jamaica. Continuing here for ten days, in hopes of meeting the Speedwell, but in vain, the crew of the Success became much disheartened, so that Clipperton had much difficulty in persuaing them to persist in the enterprize. The *Cape de Verd islands,* called *Salt islands* by the Dutch, derive their name from Cape de Verd on the coast of Africa. The sea which surrounds them is covered by a green herb, called *Sergalso* or cresses by the Portuguese, resembling water-cresses, and so thickly that hardly can the water be seen, neither can ships make their way through it but with a stiff gale. This herb produces berries, resembling white gooseberries, but entirely tasteless. No one knows how this herb grows, as there is no ground or land about the place where it is found floating on the water, neither can it be supposed to come from the bottom, as the sea is very deep, and is in many places quite unfathomable. This sea-weed begins to be seen in the lat. of 34° N. where it is so thick that it seems as if islands, but is not to be met with in any other part of the ocean.

The *Cape de Verd islands,* when first discovered by the Portuguese in 1572, were all desert and uninhabited, but they now inhabit several of them. They are ten in number, St Jago, St Lucia, St Vincent, St Antonio, St Nicolas, Ilha Blanca, Ilha de Sal, Ilha de Maio, Ilha de Fogo, and Bonavista. They now afford plenty of rice, flour, Tartarian wheat, oranges, lemons, citrons, bananas, ananas or pine-apples, ignames, batatas, melons, cucumbers, pompions, garden

[2] This island of St Baranora, or St Brandon, is merely imaginary.—E.

garden and wild figs, and several other sorts of fruits. They have vineyards also, which produce ripe grapes twice a year; and have abundance of cattle, both great and small, but especially goats. The capital city is St Jago, in the island of that name, in which resides the governor who commands over all these islands under the King of Portugal. It is also the residence of an archbishop, whose see extends over all these islands, and over all the conquests of the Portuguese on this side of the Cape of Good Hope. These islands afford good convenience for ships on long voyages procuring a supply of fresh water. On the east side of Maio there is a little river, and as the island is uninhabited, there is nobody to hinder one from taking it: There is also water to be had on St Antonio, where also good refreshments may be had, of oranges, lemons, and other fruits; and the Portuguese on this island are so few in number, that they cannot prevent one from taking what they please.

May the 29th having an observation, Clipperton found his latitude to be 52° 15′ S. being then off Cape *Virgin Mary*, the northern point at the eastern entrance into the straits of Magellan, distant from *Fuego*, one of the Cape de Verd islands, 1580 leagues, the meridional distance being 36° 4′ W.[3] Next day they entered the straits. Proceeding onwards to Queen Elizabeth's island, the pinnace was sent off to a fresh-water river on the main, which was found frozen up. They saw large flocks of geese and ducks at this place, but they were very shy. By some accident the surgeon's mate was left ashore at this place by the boat, and when brought on board next morning he was almost dead with the cold. They remained some time at Queen Elizabeth's island, which is dry and mostly barren, yet they found plenty of sallad herbs, which were of infinite service, the crew being much afflicted by the scurvy. The principal herb was *smallage* of extraordinary size, which they eat raw, or boiled in their broth, and of which they brought away a considerable quantity of juice in bottles. On the 14th June, the empty water casks were sent ashore to be filled, and the carpenters went to look out for a proper piece of timber for a mizen-mast. They found abundance of wild fowl and shell fish on shore, which were most welcome

[3] The meridional distance between these two stations is 49° 25′ W. Mayo being in long. 23° 15′, and Cape Virgin Mary in long. 72° 40′ both W. from Greenwich.—E.

welcome to all the company, as they found their appetites to increase, while the necessity compelled the enforcement of short allowance. They anchored on the 22d in a fine bay, which they named *No-bottom Bay*, because of its great depth of water. The trees here are lofty, and so loaded with snow as to be a most astonishing sight. On the 29th there came to them a canoe in which were two men, a woman, and a boy. These were of middle stature, with dark complexions, broad, round faces, and low features, with low foreheads, lank short black hair, and no clothing except a piece of skin to cover their middles. The most extraordinary circumstance about them, was a fine streak round their wrists of an azure colour. They seem to be very jealous of their women, as they would on no account permit the woman who was along with them to come on board. Clipperton ordered them bread and cheese, and a dram of brandy, which last they refused to take, but they eat the bread and cheese voraciously. They had a fire in the middle of their canoe, which was made of the bark of trees sewed together, and they brought with them some wild geese and ducks, which they exchanged for knives. They had bows and arrows, together with some fishing tackle, and went away after two hours stay, making signs that they would return.

Next day the pinnace went ashore, and returned in the evening with the Indian canoe filled with large muscles, which our people bought from the Indians, for knives, bread, and other trifles. In the beginning of July the weather was very moderate. Clipperton found the savages in these straits by no means so mischievous as they are usually represented, of which they had two remarkable instances: As, on one occasion, one of the crew was on shore two nights and a day, and was well used by the natives; and, on another occasion, one of the natives being left accidentally all night in the ship, the natives came for him next day without fear; so that, if well treated, they do not seem to be treacherous. In another canoe which came to the ship there were several women, each having a necklace of five or six rows of small shining shells, very nicely strung, resembling mother-of-pearl. All this time the crew was very sickly, scarcely a day passing in which one or more did not die, which was generally attributed to the want of something comfortable to drink in this rigorous climate, all the liquors intended for the voyage having been left in the Speedwell. The weather was sometimes

sometimes fair and moderate for two or three days together, but was continually varying, and perhaps for two or three days following they had continual snow, rain, and sleet, with frequent great flows of wind that were intolerably sharp and piercing. William Pridham, the master-gunner, died on the 7th July, and was buried ashore next day, having a strong plank with an inscription driven into the ground at the head of his grave.

On the 20th July, Captain Mitchell and Lieutenant Davidson went in the pinnace, furnished with all necessaries, in order to make a discovery of a passage on the southern side of the straits, through which a French tartan is said to have gone into the South Sea in May, 1713, and to examine if there were any anchorage beyond Cape *Quad*. The pinnace returned on the 29th, having found the passage, but so narrow that it was deemed too hazardous. Their provisions falling short, they were forced to return before they had satisfied themselves sufficiently; yet they found several good bays for anchoring in, to the N.W. of Cape *Quad*. They got a seal from some Indians, which they broiled and eat, and said that it was as good as venison. On the 1st of August, Captain Mitchell and three other officers went a second time to examine to look for the new passage. But, after the strictest examination, they could not find that it led into the South Sea, but only into an icy bay, and at all events was too narrow for their ship. On the return of Captain Mitchell, it was resolved to prosecute their way through the straits, which they did with much difficulty, getting into the South Sea on the 18th of August, but in so weak and sickly a condition as to be utterly incapable of attempting any enterprize for some time, having been long on short allowance of only one piece of beef or pork to a mess of six men. In pursuance, therefore, of his instructions, Captain Clipperton bore away for the island of Juan Fernandez, the third and last appointed place of rendezvous with the Speedwell.

The Success accordingly anchored at Juan Fernandez on the 7th September, and search was made for any testimony of the Speedwell having been there, but to no purpose. Captain Clipperton resolved, in compliance with his instructions, to remain here, or cruizing in the neighbourhood, for a month; and also had an inscription cut on a conspicuous tree fronting the landing-place, to the following purport: "*Captain John* —— *W. Magee*, 1719." This William Magee was

was surgeon of the Success, and well known to Captain Shelvocke and all his company; and Clipperton omitted his own name in the inscription, because he had been formerly in the South Sea, and had been long a prisoner among the Spaniards, for which reason he did not wish to give them notice of his return into this sea. The sick were all landed on the 8th, and every convenience afforded by the island made use of to promote their recovery. The weather was very changeable all the time of the Success continuing here, with much rain, and some hard gales of wind. They took, however, a considerable number of goats, which not only served them for present subsistence, but enabled them to increase their sea store, as they had an opportunity of salting a good many; for some French ships, that had been at the island, had left a considerable quantity of salt ready made. They likewise cleaned the ship's bottom, and took on board a supply of wood and water. It was now evident that the Success would have to act singly in these seas, as Clipperton was fully of opinion that the Speedwell was lost, or at least gave out so among the company, to prevent them from continually cursing Shelvocke for running away with their liquors, which some of the sick men did with their dying breaths.

The beauty and fertility of this island, compared with the dangers and difficulties unavoidable in the South Sea, tempted four of the men to remain in the island, and they actually ran away into the mountains. As it was very inconvenient to lose so many good hands, Captain Clipperton took measures for recovering them, but ineffectually. At last, a fortnight after their desertion, and only the day before the ship was to leave the island, two of them were caught by the goat-hunters and brought aboard. They confessed that they had been hard put to it for the first five days, being forced to subsist entirely on the cabbage-trees, which are here in great plenty; but having accidentally found some fire, left by the goat-hunters, it served them in good stead, as it enabled them to cook their victuals. That same evening they brought on board all the goats-flesh they had salted, together with four casks of seal-oil, and every thing else they had on shore. A cross was set up on shore, at the foot of which a bottle was buried, containing a letter for Captain Shelvocke, appointing another place of rendezvous, with certain signals by which to know each other if they happened to meet at sea.

SECTION

SECTION II.

Proceedings of the Success in the South Seas.

CLIPPERTON left Juan Fernandez on the 7th October, leaving two men behind, as successors to Governor Selkirk, but of whose adventures we have no mention. He now steered his course to the northwards, till in the parallel of Lima, where he proposed to commence operations, though in a very indifferent condition, having lost thirty men since passing the equator. On the 25th, being in the latitude of Lima, they captured a snow of forty tons, laden with sand and rubbish for manure, on board of which were seven Indians and two negroes, their master having been left sick on shore. The only thing she contained worth taking were two jars full of eggs, two jars of treacle, and two dollars. Next day they captured a ship of 150 tons, laden with timber from Guayaquil, in which were two friars, sixteen Indians, and four Negroes. On the 30th they took a ship of 400 tons, bound from Panama to Lima, which had been taken by Captain Rogers at Guayaquil ten years before. She had many passengers on board, and a loading of considerable value. Another prize was taken on the 2d of November, being a vessel of seventy tons, on board of which was the Countess of *Laguna* and several other passengers, with a great sum of money, and 400 jars of wine and brandy, which was very acceptable. Captain Clipperton desired the countess to inform him, whether she thought proper to remain in the prize, or to accept of such accommodations as he was able to give her in the Success. She chose to continue in the prize, on which he sent an officer of marines with a guard, to prevent her from being molested, and with strict orders not to allow any person to enter her cabin, except her own domestics. He also sent part of the wine and brandy on board the other prizes, for the use of his seamen who had charge of them.

Although Captain Clipperton had now so many prizes, that above a third of his company was detached to take charge of them, he was still as eager to take more as if he had commanded a squadron of men of war, instead of a single privateer weakly manned. On the 12th November, a London

London-built pink of about 200 tons was discovered at some distance, bound from Panama to Lima with a cargo of woad, of very little value to Clipperton, yet he added this to the number of his prizes. The master of this vessel, being a shrewd fellow, soon saw the error Clipperton had fallen into, and resolved to turn it to his advantage. Guessing by the number of prizes already attending the English ship, that he could not spare many men to take possession of his ship, and having above a dozen passengers, he directed them to hide themselves in the hold, along with a Frenchman who served as boatswain, with orders to seize as many of the English as went down below, assuring them that he with the ship's company would be able to manage the rest. When this ship struck, Clipperton sent Lieutenant Sergeantson with eight men to take possession of her; who, on coming on board, ordered all he saw on deck into the great cabin, at the door of which he placed a sentinel. Thinking every thing was now secure, he ordered the topsails to be hoisted, in order to stand down towards the Success; after which, the men went down into the hold, to see what loading was in the ship. On this the concealed passengers sallied out, knocked most of them down, and the boatswain came behind Mr Sergeantson, whom he knocked down likewise, and then bound all the Englishmen in the hold. In the mean time, the crew in the great cabin, Spaniards, Indians, and Negroes, secured the sentinel. Having thus recovered possession of the ship, the Spanish captain resolved on getting ashore at all events, in which design he ran his ship among the rocks, where he with his crew and prisoners were all in considerable danger. He then ordered all the English prisoners to be unbound, and all got safe on shore, after which Lieutenant Sergeantson and his men were all sent prisoners to Lima.

The viceroy was so much pleased with this hardy action of the Spanish shipmaster, that he ordered a new vessel to be built for him at Guayaquil, ordering all the traders in Peru to be taxed for defraying the expence, as a reward for the service rendered on this occasion to the public, and an encouragement for others to behave in like manner. On the arrival of the prisoners at Lima, they were all strictly examined, when one of them gave a full account of every thing he knew, particularly of the two men who remained on the island of Juan Fernandez, and of the letter left in a bottle for the Speedwell, the consort of the Success. On this information,

formation, a small vessel was fitted out and sent to Juan Fernandez, with orders to fetch away the two men and the bottle containing the signals, which was accordingly done.

Perceiving on the 20th November, that the last-taken prize had been recovered by her crew, as on making the signal to tack, she was seen to make all possible sail towards the land, Captain Clipperton immediately suspected what had happened; and finding it impossible to get up with her, he began to consider what was best for him to do, to prevent the bad effects which might reasonably be expected from her crew getting on shore and communicating the alarm. Wherefore, he very prudently determined to set all his Spanish prisoners at liberty, as well to save provisions, which he could not very well spare, as that their good usage from him might be speedily known, in hopes of the same being returned to those of his men who had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards.

On the 24th we took another prize of about 200 tons, laden with timber from Panama to Lima, having on board forty negroes and thirty Spaniards, most of the last being passengers. On the 27th he came to anchor with all his prizes at the island of Plata, where he began seriously to reflect how best to turn the expedition to the profit of the owners, as well as of himself and crew. He knew well that all the coast was now alarmed, and that two men-of-war were fitting out on purpose to take him, one of fifty and the other of thirty guns. He had no expectations of the ships and goods he had taken being ransomed in that part of the world, and believed they would prove of little value if brought home; and reflecting on what had formerly been proposed by Captain Woods Rogers on a similar occasion, of sending a cargo of such prize goods to Brazil, he resolved to try that experiment. Accordingly, he fitted out the bark in which he had taken the Countess de Laguna, armed her with eight guns, and gave her a crew of thirteen Englishmen and ten negroes, with what provisions and stores he could spare, calling her the *Chickly*. Into this vessel he put a cargo of European commodities, valued at upwards of ten thousand pounds, and on the 27th November, 1719, he sailed for Brazil under the command of Captain Mitchell. As soon as she was gone, he gave up his other prizes to the Spaniards, taking out of them whatever he thought worth keeping, and detaining one of the Spanish masters to serve him as pilot,

with

with all the negroes; after which he sailed from La Plata to resume his cruize on his former station.

The 12th December he took a vessel bound from Cherisse for Panama with provisions, which employed the launch and pinnace of the Success a whole day in bringing on board the flour and other provisions out of the prize. Having got as much flour out of her as they could well stow away in the Success, Clipperton ordered the main-mast of the prize to be cut away, lest she should overset, and then dismissed her. From the people of this prize, they learnt that Lieutenant Sergeantson and his men had been carried prisoners to Lima. On the 27th they anchored in *Guanchaco* bay, where they found two ships at anchor, which had been abandoned by their crews, and every thing taken out of them, except some bread and a few jars of water. These ships were set on fire. It was now resolved to bear away for the Gallapagos islands for refreshments, and accordingly anchored in York road, on the north side of the Duke of York's island, on the 9th January, 1720, immediately under the equinoctial line. They here found good water, scrubbed and cleaned their ship's bottom, and after ten days proceeded to the northwards, in order to cruize on the coast of Mexico. The circumstance of finding good water at this place, sufficiently justifies Captain Cowley from the aspersions thrown upon him by later writers, who allege that he gave a fanciful and untrue account of these islands, as they had not been able to find water or anchorage at such of them as they tried.

Having returned to the American coast, they fell in with a ship on the 21st of January, which they took after a long chase. This proved to be the Prince Eugene, on board of which was the Marquis of *Villa Roche* and all his family, bound from Panama, where he had been president, to Lima. This was the very ship in which Captain Clipperton had been circumvented and taken in his last voyage in these seas,[1] when he had been very indifferently used by the marquis, who was now at his mercy, and whom he used, notwithstanding, with all civility. On the 8th March, a priest who was on board the prize, and the boatswain of that ship, desired leave to go on shore at the island of *Velas*,[2] which was

[1] The circumstance here alluded to no where appears in the narratives of any of the former circumnavigations.—E.

[2] Perhaps Velas point is here meant, in lat. 10° 9′ N. on the coast of that province of Mexico called *Corta Rica*.—E.

was granted on condition that they would induce the inhabitants to bring some bullocks to the shore, to exchange them for such goods as they might think proper to accept in payment. This they promised, and on the 16th they returned with four bullocks, together with some fowls and fruit as a present to the marquis, but said their alcalde, or governor, would on no account permit them to trade with the English. They also learnt that Captain Mitchell had been ashore at this place, and had shot some of their cattle, but on 200 men appearing under arms, had been forced to retire. This story seemed the more probable, as these people had some linen and other articles of clothing belonging to Captain Mitchell's men. Next day some letters from the marquis were intercepted, which were by no means conformable to the strict honour to which the Spanish nobility usually pretend, as they were meant to stir up the inhabitants of Velas to surprise the men belonging to Captain Clipperton, and to seize his boat when it went ashore for water. Upon this Captain Clipperton confined the marquis for some days; yet allowed him and his lady to go ashore on the 20th, leaving their only child as an hostage; and soon after the prize was restored to her captain.

On the 14th April, the marquis and his lady came on board, accompanied by the alcalde, and an agreement being made for their ransom, the lady and child were sent ashore, and the marquis remained as sole hostage. In the whole of this transaction, Clipperton seems to have been outwitted by the marquis, who lately broke his word, and by this the crew of the Success were provoked to murmur against their captain for trusting him. On the 20th of April, the Success anchored in the Gulf of Amapala, or Fouseca, in lat. 13° N. and not being able to water there, repaired to the *Island of Tigers*,[3] where they procured water with great ease. They went to the island of Gorgona, in lat. 2° 53′ N. for the same purpose, on the 4th June. On the 24th of that month they took a prize which had once been in their hands before, now laden with timber and cocoa-nuts; and on the 11th August, anchored with their prize at the island of *Lobor de la Mar*, in lat. 6° 95′ S. where they set up tents on shore, scrubbed

[3] Perhaps the Isla del Cana, in lat. 8° 46′ N. is here meant, or it may have been one of the islands in the Gulf of Amapala.—E.

scrubbed and cleaned their ship's bottom, and took whatever seemed of any value out of the prize.

While here, a plot was entered into by the crew, for seizing the captain and officers, whom they proposed to leave on the island of Lobos, and then to run away with the ship; but this was happily discovered on the 6th September, the two principal ringleaders severely punished, and the rest pardoned. On the 17th, they took a fishing-boat with a considerable quantity of well-cured and salt fish. On the 1st November they went into the Bay of Conception, on the coast of Chili, in lat. 36° 35′ S. in chace of a vessel which outsailed them and escaped; whence they bore away for Coquimbo, in lat. 29° 50′ S. and took a ship laden with sugar, tobacco, and cloth, on their passage between these two places. On the 6th in the afternoon, on opening the harbour of Coquimbo, they saw three men-of-war at anchor with their topsails loose, which immediately slipped their cables and stood after them. The Success hauled close upon a wind, as the prize did likewise, on which the best sailing Spanish man-of-war gave chase to the prize, which she soon came up with and took. The two other ships crowded all sail after the Success, till afternoon, when the biggest carried away her mizen-mast, on which she fired a gun and stood in for the shore, which favoured the escape of the Success.

In the re-captured prize, they lost their third lieutenant, Mr James Milne, with twelve men. The captain of the Spanish man-of-war which took him, was the famous Don Blas de Lesso, who was governor of Carthagena when that place was attacked by Admiral Vernon. At first Don Blas treated Mr Milne very roughly, being enraged at having missed taking the English privateer, and had only retaken a Spanish prize, and in the first transport of his passion struck Mr Milne over the head with the flat of his sword. But on coming to himself, he sent for Mr Milne, and generously asked his pardon, and finding he had been stripped by the soldiers, ordered him a new suit of clothes, and kept him some time in his own ship. He afterwards procured his liberty at Lima, paid his passage to Panama, giving him a jar of wine and another of brandy for his sea-store, and put 200 dollars in his pocket to carry him to England. This unlucky accident of losing the prize revived the ill-humour among the crew of the Success, who did not indeed enter into any new plot, but became much dejected.

On

On the 16th they gave chase to another ship, which, after exchanging a few shots, bore away and left them. This was a fortunate escape, as she was a ship of force commanded by one Fitzgerald, which had been fitted out on purpose to take Captain Shelvocke; but knowing this not to be the ship he was in search of, and doubting her strength, had no great stomach to engage. These repeated disappointments, as they broke the spirit of the crew, had a very bad effect on Captain Clipperton, who now began to take to drinking, which grew at last to such a pitch that he was hardly ever quite sober, owing to which unhappy propensity he committed many errors in his future proceedings.

It was now determined to proceed to the northward in search of plunder, as also to procure a supply of provisions, especially flour, having expended all their stock of that article, and being now reduced to three pounds of Indian corn for a mess of six men per day. Having but indifferent fortune, and being in sight of point *Helena* in lat. 2° 10′ S. they resolved to bear away for the Gallapagos islands, on the 27th November, having in the first place set ashore the prisoners belonging to the vessel in which Mr Milne was taken. In their passage to these islands, they suspected an error in their log-line, which was found three fathoms too short, making an error in their computation on this run of about fifty-two miles. On the 4th of December they lost their purser, Mr Fairman, and the same day found themselves near the Gallapagos, being in lat. 0° 36′ N. with a strong current running to the S.W. against which they had to contend. On the 6th the pinnace was sent to look out for an anchorage at one of the islands, but returned without finding any, having seen many tortoises on shore. Upon this the pinnace and yawl were sent out to bring off some of these animals, and returned with sufficient fish to serve the whole company for a day, but had been unable to land for turtle, in consequence of a prodigious surf on the shore. This island was a mere rock in lat. 0° 9′ N. and the ground all about it was foul, with soundings from fifty to eighty fathoms. Leaving this island, they proceeded to another in the S.W. but could find no anchorage. Being unwilling to lose more time, they made the best of their way for the island of *Cocos*,[4] where they hoped to procure

[4] The island of Cocos, nearly north from the Gallapagos, is in lat. 5° 20′ N. and long. 87° 53′ W. from Greenwich.—E.

procure fish, fowls, and cocoa-nuts. On the 7th they saw several islands in the N.E. through which they passed, and got clear of them all by the 9th,[5] but as the people daily fell sick, they grew very apprehensive of the dangerous situation they might incur in case of missing the island of which they were now in search. On the 17th they had the satisfaction of seeing the long-wished for island in the N.W. at the distance of nine leagues; and on the 18th, after coming to anchor, all of them went on shore that could be spared from the necessary duty of the ship, in order to build a hut for the reception of the sick, who were then carried on shore and comfortably lodged. They here had plenty of fish, fowls, eggs, and cocoa-nuts, with other refreshments. The captain here opened the last hogshead of brandy for the use of the company, giving every man a dram daily as long as it lasted; and on new-year's-day 1721, he allowed a gallon of strong beer to every mess. By means of abundant nourishing food and much ease, the crew began to recover their health and spirits, and were soon able to take on board wood and water, though with considerable difficulty, as a very heavy swell set in from the northwards at the full and change of the moon, so that they had to wait till after the spring-tides were over, before they were able to get any thing off.

On the 17th January, 1721, Captain Clipperton made the necessary dispositions for sailing, but it was three days before he could get his people on board, and then no less than eleven of them were missing, three Englishmen and eight negroes. It is not easy to conceive what could have induced the former to hazard themselves at this island, so far removed from the continent, and so little likely to be frequented by ships, and whence they had so very small a chance of ever getting off. It must be attributed to their dread of the dangers and fatigues to which they had been continually exposed, and to their living almost continually on short allowance, whereas they were here sure of plenty of provisions, with no other fatigue but the trouble of procuring and dressing them. Perhaps they might have received some assurance from the marquis, of having a ship sent for them when he obtained his liberty, which was at least a hazardous contingency; and there is great reason to doubt was never performed.

Leaving the island of Cocos on the 20th, they arrived on the

[5] These were probably some of the most northerly of the Gallapagos. —E.

the coast of Mexico on the 25th, when they met with an extraordinary adventure. Discovering a sail about seven in the evening, they gave chase and sent their pinnace to board, which came up with the chase about eleven. On the return of the pinnace, her people reported that this was a Spanish ship named the Jesu Maria, but now in possession of Captain Shelvocke, who had now only forty of his men remaining, all the rest being dead or dispersed. He said that he had lost the Speedwell at the island of Juan Fernandez, where he staid five months, and built a bark out of the wreck of the Speedwell. Putting to sea in this bark, he had coasted along Chili and Peru, meeting several ships, but could not take any, till at length he captured the Jesu Maria at Pisco near Lima. Shelvocke's people differed much in their stories, but it appeared that there was no regular command among them; and, as used to be the practice in the buccaneers, they had chosen a quarter-master, every thing being carried by a majority of votes, being all equal, and shared every thing among themselves, contrary to the articles of agreement with their owners.

On the 27th, Mr Clipperton sent for the purser of the Jesu Maria, who gave but a dark account of their proceedings, only that he was not allowed to take any account of the treasure for the owners. Captain Shelvocke afterwards came on board the Success, accompanied by Mr Dod, his lieutenant of marines, who proposed to remain in the Success, having been very ill used by the other crew for his attachment to the interest of the owners, at least so he said, and was credited by Captain Clipperton and his officers. Next day, Shelvocke sent on board the Success six chests of pitch and *dammer*, two barrels of tar, and six slabs of copper; and Captain Clipperton gave him *twenty-four* quarter deck guns,[6] some round shot, a compass, and a few other necessaries. Shelvocke's people laid out a great deal of money with the crew of the Success, in the purchase of clothes, shoes, hats, and other necessaries; and there remained with them two of Shelvocke's officers, Mr Hendric the purser, and Mr Dod the lieutenant of marines.

Still keeping to the northward on the coast of Mexico, the Success afterwards saw the Jesu Maria several times; and at length

[6] This must be a gross error, as the Success originally carried only *twenty-four* guns; and accordingly, in the subsequent account of the circumnavigation of Shelvocke, only two quarter-deck guns are mentioned.—E.

length, in the beginning of March, it was resolved to propose a conjunct attempt on the Manilla ship on her way to Acapulco. Accordingly on the 13th March, in a general consultation by the officers of both ships, it was agreed to make the attempt jointly, both ships boarding her at once, as the only chance of taking her. On the 15th, in another consultation, Captain Clipperton and his officers agreed to certain articles, which were sent to Captain Shelvocke, proposing, if he and his crew would refund all the money they had shared among themselves, contrary to the articles agreed upon with the owners, and put the whole into a joint stock, thus all their faults should be forgiven, both companies uniting, and should then proceed together to cruise for the Acapulco ship. This proposal was very indifferently received by Shelvocke and his men, who did not care to part with what they possessed, and declined to give any answer to this proposal. Perceiving, therefore, that nothing good was to be expected from their quondam consort, considering also that the usual time of the Manilla ship arriving at Acapulco was already elapsed, that most of their remaining men were weak and sickly, and that they were only victualled for five months at their present short allowance, Captain Clipperton and his men thought it was now proper for them to proceed for the East Indies without loss of time, in order to preserve what little they had got for their owners and themselves. It was therefore resolved upon to put this plan into immediate execution, without any farther consultation with Shelvocke, and to leave the coast of America directly. They were now to the S.S.E. of Port Marquis, in lat. 16° 50′ N. and accordingly on the 18th March shaped their course for crossing the Pacific ocean towards the Ladrone islands.

The Manilla ships usually leave the Philippine islands about the beginning of July, and arrive at the Ladrones about the beginning of September, whence they proceed for Acapulco, where they are expected to arrive about the middle of January. They generally remain at Acapulco till towards the latter end of April, and then sail for Manilla. This, though the general rule, is liable to some alterations, according as the trade-winds set in earlier or later. From this account, it is plain that the ship they had now proposed to wait for must have been the galleon on her passage from Acapulco for Manilla, which always has a prodigious quantity of silver on board.

SECTION

SECTION III.

Voyage of the Success from the Coast of Mexico to China.

The Success performed the voyage from the coast of Mexico to the Ladrones in fifty-three days, arriving in sight of the island of Serpana on the 10th May, 1721. This island is in lat. 13° 42′ N. though usually laid down in the Spanish maps in 14°.[1] In this passage they lost six of their men, and the rest were reduced to so weak and low a state, that the sight of this island gave them great joy. They determined however to proceed to Guam, as best known to Europeans, and where they were most likely to procure provisions; but in their present weakly condition it might have been better to have gone to Serpana, where the Spaniards have not so great a force as at Guam. They anchored in the road at this island on the 13th May, and sent their pinnace ashore with a flag of truce to obtain provisions. But the people informed them that, without leave of the governor, they could not trade with them. Application was therefore made to the governor for this purpose, which was favourably received for the present; and Mr Godfrey, the owners agent, who had been sent up to the governor at Umatta, returned on the 16th to the Success in one of the country proas, with a message from the governor, intimating, that they should be furnished with provisions, if they behaved civilly and paid honestly. The launch arrived soon after, bringing on board some cattle, bread, sugar, brandy, fruit, and vegetables; and on the 17th the governor sent a handsome present of palm-wine, sugar, and brandy, with a large quantity of chocolate.

The *Island of Guam*, in lat. 13° 30′ N. long. 145° 30′ E. from Greenwich, is nearly ten leagues long from N. to S. and five leagues from E. to W. It has several villages, the most remarkable being Amatta, Atry, Agana, Anigua, Asa, Hugatee, and Rigues. The natives are formerly said to have amounted to 150,000 souls, but at this time did not exceed a tenth of the number, of which a few hundreds remained independent in the mountains, in spite of every effort to reduce them

[1] Serpana is probably some small island close to Guam, not inserted in general maps. The centre of Guam is in 13° 30′ N.

them under the Spanish dominion. The natives are strong, active, vigorous, and war-like, but are represented as cruel, vindictive, and treacherous, though perhaps the Spaniards have exaggerated their bad qualities, to extenuate their own tyranny and oppression. The Spanish garrison at this island at this time consisted of 300, relieved from time to time from Manilla, and the King of Spain is said to have allowed 30,000 dollars yearly for the maintenance of this port, the only use of which is to give refreshments to the annual ship which goes between Manilla and Acapulco.

Having agreed with the governor of Guam for the ransom of the Marquis de Villa Roche, that nobleman went ashore on the 18th May, accompanied by the agent, the first lieutenant, and the doctor; and the Success gave him a salute of five guns at parting. For six days after, the launch was continually employed in bringing wood, water, and provisions on board, during which time the governor requested to be supplied with some arms and ammunition in exchange, and accordingly Captain Clipperton sent him twelve fuzees, three jars of gunpowder, sixty rounds of shot, four pair of pistols, and several cutlasses, swords, and daggers. On the 25th a letter was sent on board, demanding the jewels belonging to the marquis, some consecrated plate, and two negroes, who were Christians; as also requiring to have a certificate signed by the captain and officers of the Success, that peace had been proclaimed between Britain and Spain; besides which, this letter intimated that Mr Godfrey and Mr Pritty were detained till all these demands were complied with. In reply, Captain Clipperton sent a letter, containing a certificate, that he had been informed by the Solidad, the last prize taken on the coast of Chili, that peace had been concluded between Britain and Spain; but threatning, if the agreed ransom for the marquis, and the two gentlemen now detained, were not sent off in twenty-four hours, that he would demolish all the houses on shore, burn the ship in the harbour, and do all the mischief he could at the Philippine Islands.

Soon after, a letter was received from the governor, saying that he would pay for the consecrated plate, and desiring to have more powder and shot; to which Clipperton made answer that he could not spare any more. The yawl went ashore on the 28th for more provisions; but the people were told that no more could be had, unless they sent more powder and shot. Upon this Clipperton weighed anchor, and stood

stood in for the harbour, sending the pinnace a-head to sound. The people on shore had raised a battery during the sham treaty about the ransom of the marquis, from which they fired on the pinnace. The pinnace now returned to Clipperton, and reported that the only channel they could find lay within pistol-shot of the shore; yet at six in the afternoon Clipperton persisted to carry the Success into the harbour, making directly for the ship that lay there at anchor. The *Spaniards* carried her into shoal-water,[1] where she was exposed to two fires, one from the new battery on land, almost directly over head, and the other from the ship. At nine she got foul of the rocks, when they had to cut away two of their anchors, endeavouring to get her off, all the while the enemy plying them warmly with shot and stones from the new battery on the hill, so that they suffered severely in the hull and rigging of the ship. They also had three men wounded, besides losing the first lieutenant, Mr Davidson, an honest man and a good officer. Thus the Success had to remain in a miserable situation, exposed during the whole night to the continual fire of the enemy; and the surface of the water being as smooth as a mill-pond, the ship was easily seen in the night, while her unfortunate crew had no other mark to fire at but the flashes of the enemy's guns.

In this dangerous emergency, Captain Clipperton being overcome with liquor, and quite unable to command, the officers came to the resolution of running clear from the enemy as soon as they could get the ship afloat, and signed a paper to indemnify Mr Cook if he would assume the command. By four in the afternoon of the 29th they got the ship afloat, and cut away their small bower anchor, but ran aground again in ten minutes. At nine they carried out the kedge-anchor, but the hawser broke in heaving. They now carried out another hawser, having a lower-deck gun fixed to it, as they had now lost all their anchors, and were still aground. At two in the morning of the 30th the enemy repeatedly called upon them to surrender, or they might expect no quarter. At five they carried out the main-top-mast shrowd hawser, with another gun, still plying the enemy with their great guns and small-arms, though they were able to do little harm; while the enemy never missed them, especially

[1] This unexplained circumstance probably meant, that the Success had at this time *Spanish* pilots, who betrayed her.—E.

pecially directing their shot at the boats of the Success, whenever they saw them in motion. At eleven in the forenoon of the 30th they carried out the remains of their best bower-cable, with two lower-deck guns, which they dropped right a-head in five fathoms water. They now cleared the hold, ready to start their water to lighten the ship; got their upper and lower-deck guns forwards, to bring her by the head as she hung abaft on the rocks, and kept two guns constantly firing from the stern-ports at the enemy's battery, but could not get them to bear. During the last twenty-four hours they had fortunately only one man wounded; but the ship was wretchedly injured between wind and water, and her rigging torn to pieces.

At six in the afternoon of the 30th the ship floated, when they cut away their yawl, having been sunk by a shot. They hove taught their cable, and then cut it away, together with the two hawsers, and sent the pinnace a-head to tow the ship off. Just as the ship got afloat, the enemy fired with great briskness from their new battery, their shot raking through the Success between wind and water, killed one of her men, and wounded two others.

The Success had now remained fifty hours as a fair mark for the enemy to fire at, during which they lost both their bower-anchors and cables, with the stern and kedge-anchors, four hawsers, four lower-deck guns, nineteen barrels of powder, two men killed and six wounded; and had they not now got off, it was believed they must have been sunk before morning. At ten in the forenoon of the 31st they hove to, and began to splice their rigging, not a rope of which had escaped the shot of the enemy. The masts and yards were all sore wounded; and the carpenters had to work during the whole night, stopping the shot-holes in the hull. They stowed away most of their guns in the hold, barred up the ports, hoisted in the launch and pinnace, and at noon steered away west under an easy sail, hoping to save their passage before the western monsoon set in; the carpenters being fully occupied in fishing the masts and yards, and the rest of the crew in mending the rigging. At six in the evening of the 31st May, 1721, the body of the island of Guam bore E. seven leagues distant, and they then took their departure, being in 13° 20′ N. designing now for China.

The conduct of Captain Clipperton at Guam was certainly exceedingly erroneous. He ought on no account to have permitted

permitted the marquis to go on shore till he had received the money for his ransom, and all the provisions of which he stood in need. The marquis had before behaved very ill to him, and had no title to any favour; and if he had kept the marquis, the governor of Guam would not have had any opportunity of putting his schemes in execution. Clipperton committed also an egregious error in pretending to attack the town, and the ship in the harbour. Though drunkenness is rather an aggravation than an excuse for misconduct, yet it is to be considered that Clipperton was a mere sailor, who had not the benefit of a liberal education, and that he fell into this sad vice from disappointment and despair. On all occasions he had shewn a humane and even generous disposition, with the most inflexible honesty, and a constant regard to the interest of his owners. He is therefore much to be pitied, for having fled to the bottle under a load of misfortunes too heavy for him to bear.

The voyage upon which they had now to enter was very dangerous, the run from Manilla to China being estimated at 400 leagues; besides that the distance they had now to sail was much greater. They had only received a very moderate addition to their former scanty stock of provisions; and their vessel had been so roughly handled in the late unfortunate affair, that they were very apprehensive she would not last out the voyage. On careful examination, she was found to be in a very shattered condition, having scarcely a whole timber in her upper works, and one of her *fashion pieces* being shot through, which is a principal support of the after-part of the ship, they were obliged to strap her, to keep her together. As it blew pretty fresh, they durst not carry sail, and for nearly a week together had to scud almost under bare poles, through variable winds, bad weather, and a rough sea. This was a melancholy situation for the people, in seas with which they were little acquainted, and sailing by charts on which they could not depend. Yet they found the accounts and charts of Dampier much superior to those laid down by persons of much greater figure, so that without these they had hardly been able to have extricated themselves from their difficulties. The 24th June they were in sight of the *Bashee* Islands, in lat. 20° 45′ N. long. 121° 40′ E. On the 31st they saw the *island-shoals* of *Pratas*, in lat. 21° N. long. 116° 20′ E. The 1st July they fell in with other islands, not laid down in any of their charts, which perplexed them sadly,

sadly, not being able to form any certain judgment of their true course. They anchored under one of these islands in thirteen fathoms, and sent away one of their boats to endeavour to procure intelligence how Macao bore from them, that being the port to which they were bound. The pinnace returned on the 2d July, bringing a boat in which were three Chinese sailors, or fishermen, whom they could not understand, and all they could learn from them was, that Canton bore from them to the S.W.

On the 3d July, finding they had got too far to leeward of Macao, and being unable to procure a pilot, they resolved to sail for *Amoy*, as the only course that was left them, and accordingly arrived before that port in the evening of the 5th; but being afraid to enter it in the night, they plied off and on till daybreak of the 6th. They here noticed great numbers of snakes in the sea, brought down by the rivers that empty themselves upon that coast. The entrance into the port of *Amoy* is sufficiently conspicuous, in consequence of a high mountain, on the top of which is a tower, or pagoda, which may be seen at the distance of twenty leagues out to sea, and has a small island immediately before the mouth of the bay. The river *Change-neu*[2] discharges itself here into the sea, forming a spacious bay about eight leagues in circuit, where ships may ride at anchor in great safety, the only difficulty being in getting into port, which they happily accomplished in the evening of the 6th July, being well pleased to find themselves once more in a place where they might hope to procure refreshments, and be able to repair their ship; or if that were impracticable, whence they might procure a passage home. Clipperton was as much rejoiced as the rest; for, having had his full share of afflictions and misfortunes at sea, he was happy in the prospect of securing a small sum of money for his own use, and sending home what belonged to the owners, if the ship were really past repairing, as his people reported.

They had no sooner anchored in the port than ten custom-house officers were placed on board. At Amoy, as in most

[2] No name resembling *Amoy* is to be found on the coast of China in any of our best maps, and the text gives no distinct indication of its situation. The river *Changeneu* of the text, perhaps refers to *Tchang-tcheou*, a city in the province of Fokien, having a large bay in lat. 24° 30′ N. long. 118° 15′ E. and *Amoy* may have been some corruption of the port of discharge at the mouth of the river which passes Tchang-tcheou.—E.

most other ports in China, the customs are under the direction of a single mandarin, called the Hoppo, or Hoppou. The Chinese are justly reputed the craftiest people in the world; and it is their invariable maxim to appoint the cunningest man they can find to the office of hoppo. It may be added, that the people of Amoy are reputed to be less nice in the principles of honour and honesty even than any others in China. The first thing demanded by these custom-house officers was, what the ship was, and what was her business at this port. Clipperton made answer, that the ship belonged to the King of Great Britain, and had put in there from stress of weather, in order to obtain a supply of provisions and other necessaries. The officers now demanded an exact account of the number of men and guns, the nature and amount of the cargo, and the time they intended to stay, all of which they set down in writing, and then departed.

Next morning the men mutinied, and insisted that Clipperton should pay them their prize-money immediately, as the Success was in no condition to proceed to sea. The man who made this demand was one John Dennison; and when Mr Taylor interposed in behalf of the captain, one Edward Boreman told him he had better desist, unless he had a mind to have a brace of bullets through his head. There was now an end of all regularity on board, the authority of the captain being completely overthrown. The country people supplied the ship with abundance of rice, with some cattle and fowls, together with wood and water, for which they were paid. On the 12th the officers went ashore to wait upon the hoppo, who had a fine palace. He treated them with great civility, giving them leave to anchor in the harbour, and to remain there till the adverse monsoon was over; but for this he demanded 1700 dollars as port-charges, equal to near £400 sterling, and soon afterward received that sum in ready money.

It may be remembered that Mr Mitchell went out from England as second captain under Clipperton. On his going to Brazil, he was succeeded by Mr Davidson, who was slain in the unfortunate affair at Guam; to whom Mr Cook succeeded as second captain. He now demanded to receive thirty shares of the prize-money in that capacity, in which he was supported by the men, whom he courted by a continual compliance with all their humours. Captain Clipperton and the rest of the officers, seeing the turn matters were likely

likely to take, were very desirous that some allowance should be reserved for the officers who were absent, and had been taken prisoners, and for Mr Hendrie and Mr Dod, who had joined them from the Speedwell: but all their endeavours were fruitless, as the men would not listen to any such allowances. While these disputes were going on, the men went ashore as they pleased, without asking leave; and when the captain endeavoured to correct this licence, the whole company stood out, and would not submit to controul. After this every thing fell into confusion, and the men refused to work till they should receive their prize-money. They even applied to the chief mandarin of the place, styled *Hyhung* by the Chinese, to interpose his authority for obliging their captain to comply with their demands. This magistrate then summoned Captain Clipperton to appear before him, and demanded to know the reason why he refused to give the men satisfaction; on which the captain produced the articles, which contained expressly that they were not to receive their prize-money till their return to London. But Captain Cook, as he was now styled, gave quite a different account of this matter to the mandarin; on which a guard of soldiers was sent aboard the Success, with a peremptory order to Captain Clipperton immediately to settle the shares, and to pay them to the men, with which he was forced to comply.

This distribution was accordingly made on the 16th September, pursuant to the order of the chief mandarin; and as no allowance was reserved for those who had been made prisoners, or for the representatives of those who had died, or the two gentlemen who formerly served in the Speedwell, the prize-money stood thus:

The share of money and silver plate,	dollars	280
The share of gold, - - - - -		100
The share of jewels, - - - -		39
Total share of a foremast-man, -		419

Which, at 4*s.* 8*d.* the dollar, amounted to £97 : 15 : 4 sterling. According to this distribution: The share of the captain amounted to £1466, 10*s.* The second captain had £733, 5s. The captain of marines, the lieutenants of the ship, and the surgeon, had each £488 : 16 : 8. Although Captain Cook and his associates were thus able to carry their

point,

point, yet Captain Clipperton prevailed on the mandarin to set apart one half of the cargo for the benefit of the owners; which amounted, in money, silver, gold, and jewels, to between six and seven thousand pounds. This was afterwards shipped at Macao in a Portuguese ship, called the Queen of Angels, commanded by Don Francisco de la Vero. This ship was unfortunately burnt at Rio de Janeiro, on the coast of Brazil, on the 6th June, 1722; so that the owners, after deducting salvage, only received £1800.

The people and mandarins at Amoy have so conducted themselves for a long time, that, even among their own countrymen, this port has the appellation of *Hiamuin booz*, or Amoy the roguish. The fishermen on the coast, when they meet any European ship that seems intended for that port, pronounce these words with a very significant air; but, for want of understanding the language, or perhaps from confidence in their own prudence, this warning is seldom attended to. The custom of this port is to disarm every ship that enters it, sending two frigates or armed vessels, called *chan-pans*, full of men, to ride close by the vessel, to ensure the execution of all orders from the *hoppo* and chief mandarin. Besides the enormous imposition under the name of port charges, already mentioned, they have other strange methods of getting money. Thus, though the small craft of the country are at liberty to carry all sorts of provisions on board for sale, yet every one of these must in the first place go to one of the *chan-pans*, and pay there a tax or consideration for leave to go to the strange vessel. By this means, though provisions are here very plentiful, and ought therefore to be cheap, the price is enhanced at least a third. The mandarins have also a practice of sending presents of wine, provisions, and expensive curiosities, to the captain and other officers; of all which, when the ship is ready to sail, they send an exact memorial with the prices charged, the last article being so much for the clerk drawing up the account; and all this must be discharged in money or commodities, before their arms and ammunition are returned.

During a stay of ten weeks at this port, they sufficiently experienced all the artifices of this covetous and fraudulent people, from whom Captain Clipperton had no way to defend himself, and was therefore obliged to submit to all their demands. Towards the end of September, the season and their inclinations concurred to deliver them from this place; for

for by this time, even the common men began to be weary of the people, who shewed themselves finished cheats in every thing. On the 25th September, their arms and ammunition were restored, and that same day the Success weighed from the harbour, going out into the road or gulf, in order to proceed for Macao, to have the ship surveyed, as the men insisted she was not in a condition for the voyage home. Captain Clipperton affirmed the contrary, well knowing that the men insisted on this point merely to justify their own conduct, and to avoid being punished in England for their misbehaviour in China.

They weighed anchor from the Bay of Amoy, in the province of *Tonkin*,[3] on the 30th September, and anchored in the road of *Macao* on the 4th October. This place had been an hundred and fifty years in the hands of the Portuguese, and had formerly been one of the most considerable places of trade in all China, but has now fallen much into decay. The way in which the Portuguese became possessed of this place gives a good specimen of Chinese generosity. In prosecuting their trade with China from India and Malacca, being often overtaken by storms, many of their ships had been cast away for want of a harbour, among the islands about Macao, on which they requested to have some place of safety allowed them in which to winter. The Chinese accordingly gave them this rocky island, then inhabited by robbers, whom they expelled. At first they were only allowed to build thatched cottages; but, by bribing the mandarins, they were permitted in the sequel to erect stone houses, and even to build forts. One of these, called *the Fort of the Bar,* is at the mouth of the harbour, and terminates at a rock called *Appenha,* where there is a hermitage of the order of St Augustine. There is another fort on the top of a hill, called the Fort of the Mountain; also another high fort, called *Nuestra Senhora de Guia.* The city of Macao stands on a peninsula, having a strong wall built across the isthmus, with a gate in the middle, through which the Chinese pass out and in at pleasure, but it is death for a Portuguese to pass that way.

Some travellers have reported that the Portuguese were sovereigns

[3] This surely is an error for Fo-kien. Amoy has been before stated in the text as N.E. from Macao, whereas the *kingdom* of Tonquin is S.W. from that port.—E.

sovereigns of Macao, as of other places in India: But they never were, and the Chinese are too wise a people to suffer any thing of the kind. Macao certainly is as fine a city, and even finer, than could be expected, considering its untoward situation: It is also regularly and strongly fortified, having upwards of 200 pieces of brass cannon upon its walls. Yet, with all these, it can only defend itself against strangers. The Chinese ever were, and ever will be, masters of Macao, and that without firing a gun or striking a blow. They have only to shut up that gate and place a guard there, and Macao is undone; and this they have actually done frequently. Without receiving provisions from the adjacent country, the inhabitants of this city cannot subsist for a day; and besides, it is so surrounded by populous islands, and the Chinese are here so completely masters of the sea, that the Portuguese at Macao might be completely starved on the slightest difference with the Chinese. The Portuguese have indeed the government over their own people within the walls of this city; yet Macao is strictly and properly a Chinese city: For there is a Chinese governor resident on the spot, together with a hoppo or commissioner of the customs; and these Chinese mandarins, with all their officers and servants, are maintained at the expence of the city, which has also to bear the charges of the Portugueze government.[4]

In spite of all this, the Portuguese inhabitants were formerly very rich, owing to the great trade they carried on with Japan, which is now in a great measure lost. Yet, being so near Canton, and allowed to frequent the two annual fairs at that place, and to make trading voyages at other times, they still find a way to subsist, and that is all, as the prodigious presents they have to make on all occasions to the Chinese mandarins, consume the far greater part of their profits. Each of their vessels, on going up to Canton, has in the first place to pay £100 sterling for leave to trade. They are next obliged to make a considerable present, for permission to have their goods brought on board by the Chinese, to whom they must not only pay ready money for all

[4] The East India Company found all this to be true a few years ago, when its Indian government thought to have taken Macao from the Portuguese. Had this account of the matter been read and understood, they would not have unnecessarily incurred a vast expence, and suffered no small disgrace at Canton.—E.

all they buy, but have sometimes to advance the price beforehand for a year. After all this, they have to make another present for leave to depart, at least double the amount of what they formerly paid for liberty to trade; and they have to pay heavy duties to the emperor for every thing they buy or sell, besides their enormous presents to his ministers.

SECTION IV.

Residence of Captain Clipperton at Macao, and Returns from thence to England.

ON entering the port of Macao in the Success, Captain Clipperton saluted the fortress, which compliment was returned. He then went on shore, where he prevailed on the captain of a Portuguese ship of war, formerly mentioned, to carry the property belonging to his owners to Brazil. At this place, the crew of the Success found themselves considerably at a loss, as the Portuguese commander declared himself entirely in favour of Captain Clipperton. Captain Cook, therefore, and another of the officers of the Success, went up to Canton, to consult with Mr Winder, supercargo of an English East Indiaman, and son to one of the principal owners, as to what should be done with the Success. On their return, the ship was surveyed, condemned, and sold for 4000 dollars, which was much less than her worth. This was, however, no fault in Captain Clipperton, who, to shew that he still adhered to his former opinion, that the ship was fit to proceed to England, agreed with the persons who purchased her for a passage to Batavia, a convincing proof that he did not believe her in any danger of foundering at sea.

The ship being sold, the crew naturally considered themselves at liberty to shift for themselves, and to use their best endeavours each to save what little remained to him, after their unfortunate expedition. All were satisfied that Captain Mitchell, with his crew and cargo, had either gone to the bottom or fallen into the hands of the Spaniards, so that they had no hopes of any farther dividend from that quarter; yet it was some consolation that they were so near the English factory at Canton, and as six dollars were required for a passage

passage to that place in one of the Chinese boats, twenty of them agreed to go there immediately, in hopes of getting a passage from thence to England. Mr Taylor, one of the mates of the Success, was of the number: But before the boat set sail, he had some presentiment of danger, and chose rather to lose his money, by waiting for another opportunity. He had reason to be satisfied with himself for this conduct; as he soon learnt that the boat had been taken by a pirate, and the people stript of all their property. After a short stay at Macao, Mr Taylor had an opportunity of going up to Canton in an armed boat along with a mandarin, for which he and the rest of the crew belonging to the Success, who went along with him, paid twenty dollars each. In their passage up, they had satisfactory proof that in some cases there may be frugality in expence, as they saw a pirate take a boat in sight of that in which was the mandarin. This plainly shewed that the government winks at these things, perhaps deeming it good policy to raise thereby a considerable revenue, partly by presents from the pirates, and partly by sums paid by merchants and passengers for protection. From this, and many other circumstances which might be adduced, the boasted wisdom of the Chinese is nothing more than the science of dexterously hiding their robberies from the inspection of the law: In which, perhaps, they are as much exceeded by some northern nations as in the use of the compass, of which they pretend to be the original inventors, and perhaps with justice; but both in the management of the compass, and in this political trade of pirating, they are equally clumsy.

Mr Taylor and his company arrived at the English factory in Canton on the 4th November, where they were well received, and promised all assistance for getting home. There were at this time ships ready to sail, first for several ports in India and then for Europe. The captains of these vessels, on being solicited by the gentlemen of the factory to take Captain Clipperton's men on board, agreed to carry them for five pounds a man, which they all accordingly paid, esteeming it a very great favour. Mr Taylor and two or three more embarked in the Maurice, Captain Peacock, then riding at Wanapo, [Wampoa,] about three leagues below Canton, the place where European ships lie; and the rest of the company were distributed among the other ships. They sailed

sailed on the 9th, in company with the Macclesfield, an English East-Indiaman, and the House-of-Austria, belonging to Ostend. Mr Taylor arrived safely at Batavia in the month of December; sailed thence by the Cape and St Helena, and arrived in London in May 1722. The rest of the company returned also, some sooner and some later.

As for Captain Mitchell, who was sent to Brazil with a small crew, he was never more heard of, having probably been destroyed at the island of Velas, where he went ashore to procure fresh provisions. This has generally been considered as the greatest blemish in the management of Captain Clipperton, but I confess without just cause, in my opinion; as the great stress laid on that measure by Captain Rogers, might very well have induced Captain Clipperton to try what might be done in this way, especially as his owners had very strongly recommended the account of Captain Rogers to be his rule and guide. I also think the proposal in itself was very reasonable, and such as an officer who had the good of the expedition at heart had good grounds for trying. It was well known that the prize goods could produce little or nothing in the South Sea, as the Spanish governors demanded such exorbitant sums for liberty to trade, that no advantage could be derived from such a commerce, either in buying or selling. He knew also that it was to little purpose carrying these goods to Europe; and it was certainly much preferable to send them to a place where they might sell to advantage, and where the produce might be so invested as to procure a considerable profit on the voyage from Brazil to London. The vessel in which Captain Mitchell sailed was very fit for the purpose, and every way well provided; and having a crew of thirteen English and ten negroes, was quite sufficient for the navigation.

Captain Clipperton sailed from Macao to Batavia, in his own ship the Success, after she was sold; and got a passage to Europe in a Dutch ship. He arrived at Galway in Ireland, where he left his family, in June, 1722; being then in a very bad state of health, partly occasioned by his great fatigues, but chiefly through the concern he was under for the loss sustained by his owners in this unfortunate enterprize. It may be objected, that he ought to have returned from Holland to England, to give his owners the best account in his power respecting the events of the voyage. But, as he sent

sent home their moiety of the profits in the Portugueze ship, which, had it not been destroyed by the way, had nearly covered the expence of fitting out the Success, taking in the money she sold for; and if we consider the reduced state of his health when he went to Galway, where he did not live above a week, he may well be excused for this step.

CHAPTER XII.

VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD BY CAPTAIN GEORGE SHELVOCKE, IN 1719-1722.[1]

INTRODUCTION.

In the introduction to the former voyage, a sufficient account has been given of the motives on which the expidition was founded, and the original plan of acting under an imperial commission; together with motives for changing this plan, and the reason of advancing Captain Clipperton to the chief command. In the new scheme of the voyage, Captain Shelvocke retained the command of the Speedwell, carrying twenty-four guns and 106 men, Mr Simon Hately being his second captain, an officer who has a good character given of him in the account of the former voyage by Captain Rogers. The marines were under the command of Captain William Betagh. Captain Shelvocke has himself written an account of the expedition, and another was published by Captain Betagh, so that the following narrative is composed from both. Shelvocke's narrative is, strictly speaking, an apology for his own conduct, yet contains abundance of curious particulars, written in an entertaining style, and with an agreeable spirit; while the other is written with much acrimony, and contains heavy charges against Captain Shelvocke, yet contains many curious circumstances.—*Harris.*

This is one of the best written voyages we have hitherto met with, yet extends rather to considerable length, considering its relative importance. On the present occasion, therefore, it has been endeavoured to lop off as many of its redundances as could be conveniently done without injury, yet leaving every circumstance of any interest or importance.

[1] Harris, I. 198. Callender, III. 502.

ance. The principal omission, or abbreviation rather, on the present occasion, is the leaving out several controversial matters, inserted by Harris from the account of this voyage by Betagh; which might have sufficient interest among contemporaries, a few years after the unfortunate issue of this misconducted enterprise, but are now of no importance, near a century later.—*Ed.*

SECTION I.

Narrative of the Voyage from England to the South Sea.

SAILING from Plymouth on the 13th February, 1719, in company with the Success, we kept company no longer than to the 19th, when, between nine and ten at night, we had a violent storm at S.W. which increased so, that by eleven we were under bare poles. At midnight a sea struck us on our quarter, which stove in one of our dead lights on the quarter and another on our stern, by which we shipped a vast quantity of water before we could get them again fastened up, and we were a considerable time under great apprehension of foundering. On the 20th we could not see the Success; and this storm so terrified the greatest part of the crew, that seventy of them were resolved to bear away for England, alleging that the ship was so very crank she would never be able to carry us to the South Sea. But by the resolution of the officers they were brought back to their duty.

As the Canaries were the first place of rendezvous, we continued our course for these islands, where we arrived on the 17th March, and cruised there the time appointed by our instructions.[1] We next sailed for the Cape de Verde Islands, and arrived at Maio on the 14th April.[2] A little before arriving here, Turner Stevens[3] the gunner very gravely proposed to me and the rest of the officers to cruize in the Red Sea; as there could be no harm in robbing the Mahometans,

[1] Clipperton arrived there on the 5th, and sailed thence on the 15th of March.—E.

[2] Clipperton came to St Vincent on the 24th March, and cruized in that neighbourhood for ten days, so that he must have sailed about the 31st, at least a fortnight before the arrival of Shelvocke.—E.

[3] Called Charles Turner by Betagh.—E.

Mahometans, whereas the Spaniards were good Christians, and it was a sin to injure them. I ordered him immediately into confinement, after which he became outrageous, threatening to blow up the ship. Wherefore I discharged him at his own request, and left also here on shore my chief mate, who had challenged and fought with Mr Brooks, my first lieutenant.

On the 18th, we went to *Port Praya*, in the island of St Jago, but finding nothing here but fair promises, I resolved to proceed to the island of St Catharine on the coast of Brazil, in lat. 20° 30′ S.[4] in hopes of obtaining every thing necessary for our passage into the South Sea, as, according to the account of it by Frezier, it abounds in all the necessaries of life, such especially as are requisite in long voyages. We sailed therefore from Port Praya on the 20th of April, and had a very bad passage, as we were twenty-one days before we could pass the equinoctial. While between the two trade-winds, we had usually slight breezes, varying all round the compass, and sometimes heavy squalls of wind, with thunder, lightning, and rain. In short, the most variable weather that can be conceived, insomuch that we were fifty-five days between St Jago and St Catharines. On the 4th June we made Cape Frio, bearing W. seven leagues off, our lat. by observation, 23° 41′ S.[5] On the 5th we met and spoke a ship, to which I sent Captain Hately to enquire the news on the coast, and gave him money to buy tobacco, as the Success had our stock on board. She was a Portuguese from Rio de Janeiro bound to Pernambuco, and had no tobacco; but Hately had laid out my money in unnecessary trifles, alleging they would sell for double the money at the next port.

[Captain Betagh gives a very different account of this matter, asserting that Shelvocke hoisted imperial colours and made the Portuguese ship bring to, on which Hately went aboard with a boat's crew well armed, and put the Portuguese captain in such a fright, that he not only sent all sorts of refreshments on board the Speedwell, but a dozen pieces of silk flowered with gold and silver, worth about three pounds a yard, several dozens of China plates and basons, a Japan cabinet, and three hundred moidores in gold; ninety-six

[4] This island is in 27° 10′ S.
[5] Cape Frio is in 22° 33′ S.

six of which were afterwards found on Hately, when made prisoner by the Spaniards, when he had nearly been put to death for piracy on their account.][6]

We anchored at the island of St Catharine on the 23d June, where the carpenter went ashore with a gang to fell trees, and saw them into planks. The captain and inhabitants of the island came off to us daily with fresh provisions, which saved our sea-stores while we lay here. I also bought twenty-one beeves, 200 salted drom-fish of large size, and 150 bushels of cassado meal, called by the Portuguese *farina de fao*. This is about as fine as our oatmeal, and from it a very hearty food is prepared with little trouble. I also bought 160 bushels of *calavances*, partly for money at a dollar the bushel, and partly in exchange for salt, measure for measure; and likewise provided a quantity of tobacco for the crew.

The account given of this island by Frezier is very exact, only that he takes no notice of an island between the island of *Gall* and the continent of Brazil, nor of a reef of rocks. To arrive at the proper anchoring place at this island of St Catharine, it is necessary to proceed in the channel between that island and the continent till within or near two small nameless islands, over against the northermost of which is the watering place on the island of St Catharine, near the entrance of a salt-water creek, opposite to which you may safely anchor in six or seven fathoms on fine grey sand. The isle of St Catharine is about eight leagues and a half long, but no where exceeds two leagues broad; and at one place the channel between it and the continent is only a quarter of a mile broad. The island is covered all over with impassable woods, except where cleared for the plantations. Even the smallest island about it is covered in like manner with a great variety of trees, between which the ground is entirely covered with thorns and brambles, which hinder all access; and the main land of Brazil may be justly termed a vast continued wilderness. Sassafras, so much valued in Europe, is so common here that we laid in a good quantity for fuel. It has great abundance of oranges, both China and Seville, lemons, citrons, limes, bananas, cabbage-palms, melons of all sorts,

[6] It is almost unnecessary to point out, that this paragraph is an addition by Harris to the narrative of Shelvocke, extracted from the journal of Betagh.—E.

sorts, and potatoes. It has also very large and good sugar-canes, of which they make little use for want of utensils, so that the little sugar, molasses and rum they have is very dear. They have very little game, though the woods are full of parrots, which are good eating. These birds always fly in pairs, though often several hundreds in a flock. Maccaos, cockatoes, plovers, and a variety of other birds of curious colours and various shapes, are to be seen in abundance; particularly one somewhat larger than a thrush, having a spur on the joint of each wing. Flamingoes are often seen here in great numbers, of a fine scarlet colour, and appear very beautiful while flying. This bird is about the size of a heron, and not unlike it in shape.

The fishery is here abundant, as fish of several excellent sorts are in great plenty, and there is the best convenience almost everywhere for hauling the seine. All the creeks and bays are well stocked with mullets, large rays, grunters, cavallies, and drum-fish, so named from the noise they make when followed into shallow water, and there taken. Some of them weigh twenty or thirty pounds each, their scales being as large as crown pieces. The Portuguese call them *moroes.* The salt-water creek formerly mentioned may be gone up three or four miles, to be near the watering-place; and every rock or stone, even the roots of the mangrove trees, afford a delicious small green oyster. Likewise on the rocks at the sea-side there are *sea-eggs,* which resemble *dock-burrs,* but usually three or four times as large, of a sea-green or purple colour. In the inside they are divided into partitions, like oranges, each cell containing a yellow substance, which is eaten raw, and exceeds, in my opinion, all the shell-fish I ever tasted. They have prawns of extraordinary size, and we sometimes caught the *sea-horse* in our nets. On the savannahs of Areziliba, on the continent opposite the southern end of St Catharine, they have great numbers of black cattle, some of which we had from thence at a very reasonable price.

The Portuguese on this island are a parcel of banditti, who have taken refuge here from the more strictly governed parts of Brazil. Emanuel Mansa, who was captain of the island in the time of Frezier, was still their chief. They enjoy the blessings of a fertile country and wholesome air, and stand in need of nothing from other countries except clothing. They have fire-arms sufficient for their use, and have often

often need of them, being greatly infected with tigers; for which reason every house has many dogs to destroy these ravenous animals, which yet often make great havock. I have been told that a tiger has killed eight or ten dogs in a night: But when any make their appearance in the day, they seldom escape, as the inhabitants are fond of the diversion of hunting them. These animals are so numerous, that it is quite common to see the prints of their paws on the sandy beach. We could not see any of the fine dwelling-houses mentioned by Frezier; neither have they any place that can be called a town, nor any kind of fortification, except the woods, which are a secure retreat from any enemy that may attack them. I cannot say much about the Indians of those parts, as I never saw above two or three of them.

On the 2d July we saw a large ship at anchor, under Parrots Island, about five miles from where we lay. After securing the watering-place, and what we had there ashore, I sent the launch, well manned and armed, under a lieutenant, to see what she was. The launch returned about noon, reporting that she was the *Ruby*, formerly an English man-of-war, but now one of the squadron under Martinet, and commanded by Mons. La Jonquiere. She was in the Spanish service, but most of her officers and crew were French, to the number of about 420. Yet they had no intention to molest us, having quitted the South Sea on report of a rupture between France and Spain. M. La Jonquiere was a man of strict honour, and sent me intimation of his good intentions, with an invitation to dinner, which I accepted, and was well entertained. About this time I heard that Hately had plundered the Portuguese ship, formerly mentioned, of 100 moidores, and had distributed part of the money among the boat's crew, to engage them to secrecy. I examined into this as strictly as possible, intending, if found guilty, to have delivered him up to the captain of St Catharine's, but I could not get sufficient proof. This man also committed so many vile actions in the island of St Catharine, that our people were often in the utmost danger, from the resentment of the Portuguese; which bad conduct I could neither prevent nor punish, as he had become a great favourite with my mutinous crew.

M. La Jonquiere, with several of his officers and passengers, came on board the Speedwell to dine with me, on the 6th July. While they were on board, Hudson my boatswain raised

raised a mutiny, which was easily quelled by the assistance of the French gentlemen: But the boatswain was sent home in the French ship. On the 15th July, we saw a large ship bearing in for the harbour; but on discovering us, she turned out again. This circumstance alarmed M. La Jonquiere, suspecting she might be our consort, so that he put to sea next morning. The large ship appeared again on the 25th under French colours, being the Solomon of St Malo of forty guns and 160 men, commanded by M. Dumain Girard, bound for Peru and Chili.

At this time great heart-burnings arose in my crew: for, having heard that the people on board the Duke and Duchess had been indifferently treated in regard to their prize-money when they got home, they resolved to secure themselves in time. With this view, and by the advice of Matthew Stewart, chief-mate, they drew up a paper of articles respecting plunder, and sent me a letter insisting on these articles being made the rule of our voyage; to which at last I was obliged to agree, rather than suffer them to proceed in a piratical manner.

On the 3d August the St Francisco Zavier came into the harbour, a Portuguese man of war of forty guns and 300 men, bound from Lisbon for Macao in China, commanded by Mons. Riviere, a Frenchman. We departed from the island of St Catharine on the 9th August. Its northern point being in lat. 27° 20′ S. and long. 50° W. from the Lizard.[7] I kept the lead constantly sounding all along the coast of Patagonia, and had regular soundings. From the lat. of 40° to 50° 33′ both S. we frequently saw great shoals of seals and penguins, which were always attended by flocks of pintadoes, birds about the size of pigeons. The French call these birds *damiers*, as their black and white feathers on their back and wings are disposed like the squares of a draught-board. These were also attended by albatrosses, the largest of all sea-fowl, some of them extending their wings twelve or thirteen feet from tip to tip. While passing the mouth of the Rio Plata, the sea was covered with prodigious quantities of large sea-weed, which often greatly incommoded us and deadened our way. On getting farther south we were freed from this inconvenience; after which we saw abundance of things floating on the surface of the sea, like white snakes. We took some

7 Only 27° S. and 48° 30′ W. from Greenwich.—E.

some of these up, but could not perceive them to have any appearance of life, neither had they the shape of any kind of animal, being only a long cylinder of a white jelly-like substance, perhaps the spawn of some large fish.

As we advanced to the southward, the appetites of our people increased with the cold, which occasioned disputes in the ship. Even at my own table, Captain Betagh of the marines insisted on a larger allowance in such coarse terms, that I confined him till he wrote me a submissive letter, on which I restored him. But this squabble constrained me to allow an extraordinary meal to the people daily, either of flour or calavances; which reduced our stock of provisions, and consumed our wood and water, proving afterwards of great inconvenience. Whales, grampuses, and other fish of monstrous size, are in such vast numbers on the coast of Patagonia, that they were often offensive to us, coming so close to us that it seemed impossible to avoid striking them on every scud of a sea, and almost stifling us with the stench of their breaths, when they blew close to windward. Being ignorant of the Greenland fishery, I cannot pretend to say whether that trade might not be carried on here; but this I may venture to affirm, that the navigation here is safer, and I am apt to believe it has a greater chance of being successful.[8]

On the 19th September, about midnight, perceiving the water all at once to be discoloured, we sounded, and had 25 fathoms, on which we stood out from the land, but did not deepen our water in five leagues. This bank must lie very near the entrance into the Straits of Magellan. On this bank we saw great numbers of blubbers, appearing like the tops of umbrellas, curiously streaked with all sorts of colours, being an entirely different species from any I had ever seen before. We now steered for the Straits of *Le Maire*, and met with very foggy weather on approaching the coast of *Terra del Fuego*. The fog cleared up on the 23d September, when we had sight of stupendous mountains on that southern land, entirely covered with snow. The nearest point of land was at least eight leagues from us, in the S.W. but before we could ascertain our situation the mist returned. At four next morning, proceeding under easy sail to the S. E. it proved very clear at day-break, and I found we had fallen in with the

[8] This southern whale-fishery is now carried on to a considerable extent.—E.

the land about five leagues N. W. from the straits of Le Maire. We had now a full, but melancholy prospect of the most desolate country that can well be conceived, appearing a congeries of chains of mountains in succession, one behind the other, perpetually cloathed in snow.

Hitherto we had not been sensible of any current, either favourable or adverse, after getting to the south of the Rio Plata. But this afternoon we were hurried with incredible rapidity into the straits of Le Maire; and when we had gained about the middle of the passage, the tide slackened. On sounding we had twenty-seven fathoms on a rocky bottom. We had a clear view of *Staten-land*, which yields a most uncomfortable prospect of a surprising height, quite covered with snow to the very wash of the sea, so that it seems more like a white cloud than firm land. These straits seemed to answer well to the map of Frezier; being about seven leagues through and six wide, and extend almost due north and south. Now the return tide rushed upon us with a violence equal to that which brought us in, and it was astonishing with what rapidity we were driven again to the north, though we had a fresh gale at N. W. so that we seemed to advance six knots by the log; whence I judged this tide ran not less than ten knots. In short, we were carried quite out of the straits to the north in about an hour. Upon this shift of tide there arose such a short sea, and so lofty at the same time, that we alternately dipped our bowsprit and poop-lanterns into the water; our ship all the while labouring most violently, and refusing to answer the helm. The tide shifted again at midnight, and we shot through the straits, steering S. with a brisk gale at N.W. without seeing the land distinctly on either side: And, in the morning, had a good offing to the southward.

We found it very cold before we got thus far; but now we began to feel the utmost extremity of coldness. The bleak western winds had of themselves been sufficiently piercing; but these were always accompanied by snow or sleet, which beat continually on our sails and rigging, cased all our masts, yards, and ropes with ice, and rendered our sails almost useless. We had been so much accustomed to most severe storms, that we thought the weather tolerable when we could carry a reefed main-sail; as we were often for two or three days together lying-to under bare poles, exposed to the shocks of prodigious waves, more mountainous than any I had ever seen.

seen. We now sensibly felt the benefit of our awning, without which we could scarcely have lived. The wind continued to rage without intermission from the westward, by which we were driven to the latitude of 61° 30′ S. and had such continued misty weather, that we were under perpetual apprehension of running foul of ice islands: But, thank God, we escaped that danger, though under frequent alarms from fog banks and other false appearances. Though the days were long, we could seldom get sight of the sun, so that we had only one observation for the variation in all this passage, which was in lat. 60° 37′ S. 5° W. of the straits of Le Maire, when we found it 22° 6′ E. On the 1st October, as we were furling the main-sail, one William Camell, cried out that his hands and fingers were so benumbed that he could not hold himself: And, before those near could assist him, he fell down and was drowned. On the 22d October, our fore-top-mast was carried away, and we rigged another next day. Having contrary winds from the time we passed the straits of Le Maire, with the most uncomfortable weather, we made our way very slowly to the west and northwards, the hopes of getting soon into a warmer and better climate supporting us under our many miseries.

Section II.

Proceedings in the South Sea, till Ship-wrecked on the Island of Juan Fernandez.

At length, on the 14th November at noon, our spirits were cheared by seeing the coast of Chili; yet here we found ourselves under very great difficulties. Our tedious passage and extraordinary consumption of provisions, had so reduced our wood and water, and even our food, that it was necessary to repair to some place where our wants might be supplied; but it was difficult to resolve where that might be done. We first tried Narborough island, but finding the road unsafe, sailed for the mouth of St Domingo river on the continent, where we had twenty-eight fathoms, shoaling as we advanced from eighteen to less than five as fast as a man could heave the lead. Finding this place too hazardous, we stood out to sea, and were blown farther north than we designed. Being greatly at a loss where to procure wood and water, one Joseph de

de la Fontaine, a Frenchman, proposed going to the island of Chiloe, assuring us that the towns of *Chaiao* and *Calibuco*, the former on the island and the latter on the continent, were rich places, where we could not fail of procuring whatever we wanted. Chacao was, he said, the usual residence of the governor, and at Calibuco was a wealthy college of jesuits, having considerable magazines, always well stocked with provisions of all kinds. This person at the same time insinuated among the people, that our expedition would probably turn out unfortunate, if we passed this place, as Captain Clipperton must by this time have alarmed the coast, in consequence of which there would be an embargo on all ships trading to leeward.

My chief inducement for making an attempt on Chiloe was to procure such additional supply of provisions, as might enable us, in case the coast were already alarmed, to retire to some unfrequented island, to remain till the Spaniards should suppose we had abandoned the South Sea; after which we could resume our cruize, when they were under no apprehensions of being molested. Accordingly, on the 30th November, we entered the channel which divides the island of Chiloe from the main land of Chili, and stood in for the harbour of Chacao under French colours, intending to have attacked the towns of Chacao and Calibuco by surprise. Our pilot, however, seemed as much a stranger to the navigation here as I was, and as the wind began to blow fresh with thick weather, I came to anchor in thirteen fathoms, at ten in the morning, between the point of *Carelampo* and the small island of Pedro Nunez. Soon after coming to anchor, the tide made outwards with prodigious rapidity, and the wind increased greatly, between which the sea became very boisterous, all the channel in which we lay appearing one continued breach or surf. Our ship consequently made a vast strain on her cable, which parted at two in the afternoon, and we could have no hopes to recover our anchor, as the buoy had been staved and sunk about an hour before we were thus set adrift. I did not think it adviseable to risk another anchor, and therefore immediately crossed over for the island of Chiloe, in a boisterous gale with thick rainy weather, surrounded on all hands with seeming shoals, and in a manner bewildered in an unknown navigation. When within a mile of Chiloe, we ranged along shore to the *southward*,[1] in hope of discovering

[1] The direction was more probably to the *eastward*.—E.

ing the town of Chacao. We passed two commodious bays, which had no appearance of any town, and came to a point of land marked by a high pyramidal rock. After getting round this point, we found ourselves entirely out of the tide-way, and quite sheltered from all other inconveniences, and came therefore to anchor opposite a cross on the north side of the harbour, having just sufficient day-light to enable us to get into this place of shelter.

Next morning, I sent the second lieutenant, in the pinnace well manned and armed, to look out for the two towns; and sent at the same time Mr Hately in the launch, to endeavour to find a watering-place. He soon returned, accompanied by an Indian, who had shewn him a very convenient place where we could at once procure both wood and water, even under the command of our guns from the ship, and free from all danger of being surprised. I accordingly sent back the launch with casks to be filled, and several people to cut wood, all well armed, together with an officer of marines and ten men to keep guard. The Indians gave us hopes of a sufficient supply of provisions; but came in the evening to our people who were on shore, to acquaint them that the natives were forbidden to bring any thing to us. As the pinnace had not yet returned, this information gave me much concern, fearing that the enemy had taken her, and had by that means learnt what we were. On the 3d December, about seven in the evening, a Spanish officer came to us, in a boat rowed by eight Indians, being sent by the governor of Chiloe to enquire what we were. Meaning to pass upon him for a French captain well known in these seas, I ordered none of my people to appear on deck but such as could speak French or Spanish, and hoisted French colours. When the officer came on board, I told him my ship was the St Rose, homeward-bound, that my name was *Janis le Breton*, and that I entreated the governor to spare me what provisions he could conveniently afford, that being my only business on the coast. The officer heard me with much civility, seeming to give implicit credit to all I said; even staid on board all night, and went away next morning, to all appearance well satisfied.

On the 5th in the morning, two boats came towards us full of armed men; but, after taking a view of us, went to a small island in the mouth of the harbour. On the 6th we saw a white flag hoisted on shore, to which I sent my launch completely

completely manned and armed, but they found no person near the flag, to the shaft of which a letter was fastened, and a dozen hams lying close by. The letter was from *Don Nicholas Salvo,* governor of Chiloe, intimating strong doubts of our ship being the St Rose, complaining of the behaviour of the people in our pinnace, and desiring me to leave the coast. I returned an answer in as proper terms as I could devise, and next morning had another letter, couched in the utmost civility, but absolutely refusing me any refreshments, and demanding the restitution of the Indians said to have been made prisoners by our pinnace. In fact I knew less of our pinnace than he did, and believed that he actually had the people in his hands of whom he now complained.

Despairing of ever seeing my people, and still ignorant where Chacao was situated, having no chart of the island on which I could depend, I determined to change my style of writing to the governor, and try what could be done by threatening to use force. I therefore wrote, that I was determined to have provisions by fair means or foul. Next day I sent my first lieutenant, Mr Brooks, with twenty-nine men well armed in the launch, ordering him to bring off all the provisions he could find. Shortly after, a boat came with a message from the governor, offering to treat with me, if I would send an officer to Chacao: But I answered, that I would treat no where but on board, and that he was now too late, as I had already sent eighty men on shore to take all they could find.

In the evening the launch returned, accompanied by a large piragua, and both were completely laden with sheep, hogs, fowls, barley, and green peas and beans. Soon afterwards, the pinnace arrived with all her crew, but so terrified that I did not expect them to be again fit for service for one while. The officer told me, that he had been forced to fight his way through several canoes, filled with armed Indians, from whom he got clear with the utmost difficulty, and had been under the necessity of making his passage quite round the island, a course of not less than seventy leagues.[2] This proceeded only from excess of terror, as they only met one boat with unarmed Indians and a Spanish sergeant, who came

[2] The circuit of the island of Chiloe by sea, could hardly be less than 350 English miles; an arduous navigation in an open boat upon an utterly unknown coast.—E.

came off to them without the least shew of violence, as some of them afterwards confessed, but with this addition, that there were great numbers of people on shore, who they were apprehensive would come off to them. The only excuse the officer could allege was, that the tide had hurried him away, and he forgot in his fright that he had a grappling in the boat, with which he might have anchored till the tide turned.

By this strange mismanagement, I missed a favourable opportunity of seizing the town of Chacao, which I might easily have done if I had appeared before it within forty-eight hours after our arrival, when the governor was totally unprovided for resistance. But now, having a whole week allowed for mustering the force of the island, he had collected near a thousand armed Spaniards, as I learnt from the Indian prisoners in the pinnace. I therefore laid aside all thoughts of going to the towns, in the hopes of furnishing ourselves from the Indian farms and plantations, in which I kept one of our boats constantly employed. By the 16th, our decks were full of live cattle, together with poultry and hams in abundance, and such quantities of wheat, barley, potatoes, and maize, that I was quite satisfied. On a moderate computation, we had added four months provisions to the stock we brought from England, so that I was well pleased with the effects of our stay at Chiloe, and prepared to depart. I might certainly have done much more for my own credit and the profit of my owners, had it not been for the mismanagement of the officer in the pinnace.

Chiloe is the first of the Spanish possessions on the coast of Chili, reckoning from the south; and, though it produces neither gold nor silver, is a fine island, and is considered as of great consequence; insomuch that the Spaniards would be under great apprehensions when strange ships enter its ports, did they not confide in the number of its inhabitants, which is extraordinary for this part of the world. The body of this island is in lat. 42° 4′ S. being about thirty leagues in length from N. to S. and not above six or seven leagues from E. to W.[3] It is watered by several rivers, and produces many kinds of useful trees, yielding an agreeable prospect, by the great number of Indian farms and plantations dispersed

[3] Chiloe reaches from lat. 41° 50′ to 43° 50′, both S. and from long. 73° 18′ to 74° 24′, both W. extending 135 English miles in extreme length, by 35 in medium breadth. See vol. V. p. 392, for an account of the Archipelago of Chiloe.—E.

persed at small distances from each other, on rising grounds among the woods. Within this great island there is an archipelago or cluster of smaller islands, the number of which is not well known; yet the smallest of these is said to be well inhabited, and to abound in cattle. Among these islands there are very uncertain and violent currents, which are by no means safe. I would recommend all strangers to go in at the north end of the great island, giving the northern point of the island a good birth, and then to keep the island side of the channel on board, running along shore to the southward [eastward]. Passing two bays, which seem commodious, you come to a point, almost contiguous to which is a high rock, somewhat like a pyramid; and passing between that rock and a small high island near it, you run directly into a harbour resembling the mouth of a river, which forms a safe anchorage. In going in, take care not to come nearer shore than having the depth of five fathoms, as the nearer to the small island the less water; wherefore keep the lead going, and be bold with the shore towards the north side of the harbour, which has the greatest depth, while the south side is shoaly.[4]

My pilot carried me the contrary way to that here directed, advising me to keep near the main land of Chili, which I did till I got to *Carelampo* Point, having several small islands to the southward of my course, which proved unfortunate for me by the loss of my anchor. The soil of Chiloe is very fertile, producing all sorts of European fruits and grains, and has fine pasture lands, in which great numbers of cattle are grazed, particularly sheep. The air is wholesome and temperate; yet I suspect the winter may be rigorous, being bounded on the west by an immense ocean, without any land to screen it from the cold moist vapours brought thither by the tempestuous westerly winds, which generally reign in these latitudes, and which must render it uncomfortable in the winter months, as the parallels of latitude to the south of the equator are much colder than those in the same degrees to the northwards.

In this island they have abundance of very handsome middle-sized horses, which the natives are said to manage with great dexterity. They have also an animal, called

guanaco

[4] Shelvocke seems here to describe the harbour leading to the town or village of San Carlos.—E.

guanaco or *carneso de tierra*, that is, sheep of the country, which very much resembles a camel, but not nearly so large. They have long necks, and I have seen one of them between five and six feet high. Their wool or soft hair is very fine. They smell very rank, and move with a very slow majestic pace, which hardly any violence can make them quicken; yet they are of great service at the mines in Peru, where they are employed in carrying the ore and other things. Their flesh is very coarse, as we experienced, having salted some of them for our future use. Besides these, the inhabitants have European sheep and great numbers of hogs, but not many black cattle. The island has plenty of fowls, both wild and tame. Among the former is a small species of goose, found on the banks of the rivers, which are beautifully white, and of an excellent taste. The tame poultry are of the same kinds with our own.

The natives are almost in all respects the same with those on the continent of Chili, of moderate stature, with deep olive complexions, and coarse shaggy black hair, some of them having by no means disagreeable features. They seem naturally of fierce and warlike dispositions; but the oppressions of the Spaniards, and the artifices of the jesuits, who are the missionaries in these parts, have curbed and broken their spirits. Frezier says, that the Indians on the continent, to the southward of this island, are called *Chonos*, who go quite naked; and that there is a race of men of extraordinary size in the inland parts of the country, called *Cacahues*,[5] who are in amity with the *Chonos*, and sometimes accompany them to the Spanish settlements in Chiloe. Frezier says, that he has been credibly informed by eye-witnesses, that some of these were about nine or ten feet high. I had sight of two of these Indians, who came from the southward of St Domingo river, one of whom was a cacique, who did not seem to me to differ in their persons from the ordinary natives of Chiloe. They were decently clothed in *ponchos*, *monteras*, and *poulains*. The *poncho* is a sort of square carpet, having a slit or hole cut in the middle, wide enough to slip over the head, so that it hangs down over the shoulders, half before and half behind, under which they generally wear a short doublet. On their heads they have a *montera*, or cap

 nearly

[5] See an account of the native tribes, inhabiting the southern extremity of South America, vol. V. p. 401.

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nearly like those of our postillions, and their legs are covered by the *poulains*, a kind of knit buskins, or hose without feet. In short, their appearance has little or none of the savage. Their habitations are firmly built of planks, but have no chimneys, so that they are very black and sooty within.

They inclose some of their land for cultivation, by means of rails or paling; and although they have plenty of every thing necessary to a comfortable subsistence, they have no bread, from wanting mills in which to grind and prepare their wheat. They use a miserable substitute, making a kind of cakes of sea-weeds, which from use is much esteemed by them, and was not even disliked by some of our men. Besides this, they prepare their maize in several manners to answer the purpose of bread, and they use potatoes and other roots with the same intention. They prepare a liquor called *chicha* from their Indian corn, in imitation of their neighbours on the continent of Chili; but the Spaniards endeavour to curb their propensity to the use of this liquor, as their drinking bouts have often occasioned seditions and revolts. Such of the natives as have no European weapons, use pikes, darts, and other arms of the country. Among these is a running noose on a long leathern thong, called a *lays*, which they use with surprising dexterity for catching cattle, horses, or other animals, even when at full career. From all that I could see of the natives of Chiloe, or hear respecting the Chilese, they seem to resemble each other in all things, which is not wonderful, considering the near neighbourhood of this island to the continent of Chili. They use small drums, the heads of which are made of goats skins with the hair on, and give a very dull sound.

The natives of Chiloe carry on a small woollen manufacture, consisting of *ponchoes* and other articles of clothing, formerly mentioned. They also export considerable quantities of cedar, both in plank, and wrought up into boxes, chests, desks, and the like, with which they supply all Chili and Peru. They have no European trade; but the Spaniard who came to me from the governor expressed his astonishment that no trading ships ever put in there, saying they had plenty of money among them, with a safe port, free from the danger of going to the northward among the Spanish ships of war; as a great deal of business might be done here, before intelligence could be sent as far as Lima, and the ships could be fitted out and sent so great a way to windward.

ward. It is observed of the Chilese, that, differing from all other nations ever heard of, they have no notion of a Supreme Being, and consequently have no kind of worship; and they are such enemies to civil society that they never live together in towns and villages, so that their country seems thinly inhabited, though very populous, the whole nation being dispersed in farms at a good distance, every family having its own plantation, and raising its own necessaries.

Though thus scattered, they are not wholly independent, each tribe being subject to a chief, called a cacique, whose dwelling is conveniently situated among them, for the more speedy summoning them together on affairs of importance. This is done by the sound of a sort of horn, on hearing which all his vassals repair to him without delay. The chief commands them in war, and has an absolute power of dispensing justice among his subjects, who all consider themselves as his relations, he being as it were the head of his family, and his authority hereditary. In all these respects the inhabitants of Chiloe resemble their neighbours on the continent, excepting that their caciques are stript in a great measure of their power and influence, by the tyranny of the Spaniards, who keep them under the most servile slavery, while the missionaries blind them by a superstitious and imperfect conversion to Christianity, of which not one of these natives know any thing more than merely that they were baptized; all their devotion consisting of mere idolatry of the cross, or the images of saints; for the Spanish clergy use no manner of pains to enlighten their minds, but probably think it better, by keeping them in ignorance, to make them more contented under the rigorous government of the Spaniards. Under this delusion, the caciques have changed their lawful prerogatives for the vain ostentation of being allowed to wear a silver-headed cane, which places them on a footing outwardly with a Spanish captain. Yet have they sometimes rebelled against their proud oppressors, deeming death preferable to slavery, as may be seen in the account of Frezier's voyage.

The vessels used in Chiloe are peculiarly constructed, as, for want of nails and other articles of iron, the planks of which their boats are constructed are sewed together very ingeniously with oziers. These boats are all constructed of three pieces only, the keel or bottom being one piece, and the

the sides two others; and they are rowed with oars, in the same manner as with us, more or fewer according to their size.

Having nothing farther to detain us in Chiloe, I determined upon proceeding to the island of Juan Fernandez, as directed in my instructions; but my men took it into their heads that great things might be done by a short trip to the Bay of Conception, to which also they were induced by the Frenchman who persuaded us to come to Chiloe. He pretended that there were always five or six ships in the road of Conception, besides others daily coming in or going out, and that these had often both ways considerable sums of money or silver, with other valuable things, on board; and, though large ships, they were of little or no force, neither were there any fortifications at that place to protect them; so that we could not meet any opposition in taking them, even if there were twenty sail. He said their cargoes consisted chiefly of corn, wine, brandy, flour, and jerked beef; and that the ships bound for Conception always brought money to purchase their cargoes; besides that considerable booty might be made for rich trading passengers, who carry on a considerable trade over land between Conception and Buenos Ayres. He also alleged, that we could not fail of having any ships we might take ransomed; and that we should certainly make our fortunes, if we could only reach Conception before they had notice of our being in these seas. This man therefore advised my people to endeavour to prevail on me to make the best of my way to Conception, before the governor of Chiloe could send our deserter thither; after which all the coast would be alarmed, and we should have no opportunity of meeting with any thing till the Spaniards had imagined we were gone from the South Sea.

In similar cases, all are fond of delivering their sentiments; and, as it is impossible to keep a ship's company in so much awe in so remote a part as in short voyages, my men did not fail to speak their minds somewhat insolently. One William Morphew, who had been in these seas several years, took upon him to tell me, that it did not signify much if we arrived two or three days sooner or later at Juan Fernandez. He said also, that I was a stranger here, but the Frenchman and he were well acquainted with these seas, and every body hoped I would be advised to go to Conception; hoping I would not put a mere punctilious adherence to orders in balance

lance against so fair a prospect, or almost certainty of success, if we arrived there in time. In short, they all assured me that they had the interest of the proprietors in view, as much as their own, and that they would perish sooner than injure them in any respect. They said at the same time, if I had not success in my proceedings nobody could be blamed but myself, and entreated me not to let slip this opportunity, in which they would stand by me with all fidelity.

On our way to Conception, we made the islands of Mocha and St Mary on the 23d December, and arrived that same evening in the Bay of Conception, but could not be certain whether there were any ships in the road. I immediately gave orders to man and arm our boats, and sent them up that same night, in order to surprise any ships that might be there; and with strict orders, if they found them too strong, to endeavour to prevent them from sending any thing on shore till I were able to work the ship up to them. This I endeavoured to do all night, but to very little purpose; for at day-light next morning I could not discern any thing above us. Captain Hately returned about noon of the 24th, informing me that he had taken a ship of about 150 tons, lately arrived from Baldivia, and having only a few cedar plants on board, with no person in her but the boatswain, an old negro, and two Indian boys. He had left her in the charge of Mr Brooks, my first lieutenant, with orders to bring her down the first opportunity; and had taken, while on his return, a small vessel, of about twenty-five tons, near the island *Quiri-quinie*, which lies in the harbour or bay of Conception, where this small vessel had been taking in pears, cherries, and other fruits, to sell at Conception. Immediately after taking this small vessel, I could perceive with my glass another small boat come in between the islands of *Quiri-quinie* and *Talgaguana*, passing within pistol-shot of my pinnace, and yet Captain Hately did not engage her. For this his only excuse, after he came on board, was, that he did not mind her; though our boat's crew said she was full of men.

On the 26th about noon, Mr Brooks brought down the prize, and anchored about half a mile short of us. The boatswain of this prize had not been two hours in the Speedwell, till he told us of a vessel, laden with wine, brandy, and other valuable things, riding at anchor in the Bay of Herradura, about two leagues to the north of us, and bound for Chiloe.

Chiloe. On receiving this information, I ordered Mr Randal, my second lieutenant, with twenty-five men, to go in the Mercury, which name we gave to the captured flour bark, and, accompanied by the Spanish boatswain of the other prize, to go in search of the vessel in the Bay of Herradura, with positive orders not to land or to make any other hazardous attempt. But they returned next evening with the following melancholy story.

On getting into the bay, they found the vessel hauled dry ashore, when Randal ordered his people to land and bring away what they could find in her, while he and three or four more kept the bark afloat. The people found the bark empty, but seeing a small house hard by, they suspected her cargo might be lodged there, and the inferior officer along with them ordered them to examine that house. The poor fellows went accordingly, without any officer at their head, and without any regard to order, every one endeavouring to be foremost. Their career was soon stopped, as they had hardly got beyond the top of the bank when they discovered the enemy coming furiously towards them. Some of the seamen were of opinion they might have retreated at this time in safety, if they had not been astonished at the strange manner in which they were attacked, by a number of horses galloping up to them without riders, which caused them for some time to stand amazed, not knowing what way to proceed; but on a little reflection they bestirred themselves to make the best of their way to the Mercury, in which they all succeeded except five, who were made prisoners. Fortunately for them, the Mercury had by some accident got aground, or they must all have been cut off, as the Spaniards thought fit to retire on getting within musket-shot of the Mercury. They now got the bark afloat, but as the water was still very low, and they were obliged in going out of the bay to keep very near to a point of land, the Spaniards galled them from that point, under the shelter of the wood. They soon passed this point, having a fair wind, all lying close in the bottom of the bark, so that on this occasion only one man was wounded, who was shot through the thigh. The Spaniards came down upon them in this affair after the following singular manner. They were preceded by twenty or more horses abreast, two deep, and linked together, behind which extraordinary van-guard came the enemy on horseback, lying on the necks of their horses, and driving the

the others before them, never seen to sit up on their saddles, except to fire their muskets, or when there was no danger. When they got near our people, they threw their *lays* or running nooses to catch them, and accordingly ensnared James Daniel, one of my foremast-men, who was a good way into the water, and whom they dragged out again at the rate of ten knots. The Spaniards in Chili are universally dexterous in the use of this running noose, for I have seen a Spaniard bring a man up by the foot as he ran along the deck, and they are sure of any thing they fling at, at the distance of several fathoms.

These misfortunes and disappointments made my crew extremely uneasy, and might have had bad consequences, if we had not been agreeably surprised by seeing a large ship coming round the northern point of the island of *Quiriquinie*.[6] It was at this time almost dark, so that her people could not perceive what we were, and stood on therefore without fear, so that she came towards us, and was taken without resistance. This ship proved to be the St Fermin, of about 300 tons, last from *Callaco*,[7] having only a small cargo, consisting of sugar, molasses, rice, coarse French linen, some woollen cloth and bays of Quito, a small quantity of chocolate, and about five or six thousand dollars in money and wrought plate. I sent Mr Hendric, the owners agent, to inspect her cargo, and to order every thing of value out of her into the Speedwell, and the ship's company sent their agent likewise. They returned in the afternoon, bringing all the bales, boxes, chests, portmanteaus, and other packages, with a large quantity of sugar, molasses, and chocolate, and about seventy hundred weight of good rusk, with all her other stores and eatables. Don Francisco Larragan, the captain of this ship, begged to be allowed to ransom her, which I willingly consented to, and allowed him to go in his own launch to Conception to raise the money, accompanied by a merchant, one of the prisoners.

In the mean time we were very busy in searching the prize, lest any thing might have been concealed; and every one who came at any time from the St Fermin was strictly searched by some of our people appointed for the purpose, that they might not appropriate any thing of value. Our carpenter

[6] A small island in the entrance of the Bay of Conception.—E.
[7] Callao, or the port of Lima, is perhaps here meant.—E.

carpenter also was employed in making a slight spar-deck over the Mercury, as she might be of great use while cruizing along the coast. On the 30th December a boat came off to us with a flag of truce from the governor of Conception, and an officer, who acquainted us that two of our people, taken in the late skirmish, were still alive, but very much wounded. He brought also a present of seven jars of very good wine, and a letter from Don Gabriel Cano, the governor, in which he demanded to see my commission, as also that I should send ashore Joseph de la Fontaine, who had been servant to one of the mates belonging to Captain La Jonquiere, and some other things that I thought unreasonable, engaging to enter into a treaty, if I would comply with these requisitions. At length a formal treaty was begun, in which I demanded 16,000 dollars for the ransom of the St Fermin alone, while they offered only 12,000 for both the ships and the bark. Finding all his Spanish *puncto* tended only to entrap us, I set fire to the Solidad, one of our prizes; and, giving them time to comply with my proposals if they would, I set the St Fermin also on fire.

We sailed from the bay of Conception on the 7th January, 1720, intending for Juan Fernandez; and on the 8th we observed the sea to be entirely of a red colour, occasioned, as the Spaniards say, by the spawn of the *camarones*, or pracous. On the 9th, the plunder taken in the St Fermin was sold by the ship's agent at the mart, and brought extravagant prices. The account being taken, and the shares calculated, the people insisted for an immediate distribution, which was made accordingly, and each foremast-man had after the rate of ten dollars a share, in money and goods. On the 11th we saw the island of Juan Fernandez; and at noon it bore from us five leagues W.S.W. the meridional distance from Conception being 275 miles[8] W. From that day to the 15th, I stood off and on, waiting for my boats which were employed in fishing. In this time I sent the Mercury ashore to stop her leaks, while the boats caught so many fish, that we salted the fill of five puncheons. I could find no marks of Captain Clipperton having been here for a long time; but at length some of my men saw accidentally the

[8] The difference of longitude between Conception and Juan Fernandez is six degrees of longitude W. and, consequently, 360 minutes or marine miles.—E.

the words *Magee* and Captain John cut upon a tree. Magee was the name of Clipperton's surgeon, but no directions were left, as agreed upon in his instructions to me, so that it was evident he never meant I should keep him company, or ever join him again.

Being by this certified of the arrival of Clipperton in the South Sea, I directly made the best of my way from Juan Fernandez, being in a pretty good condition as to provisions, by the additional stock of fish caught here, all our casks being filled. On the 21st, while sailing along there with the design of looking into *Copiapo*, I put Mr Dodd, second lieutenant of marines, into the Mercury, with a reinforcement of eight men, and sent her next evening to cruize close in with the land, while I kept with the Speedwell in the offing, to prevent being discovered from the land. On this occasion I took care to give the officer commanding the Mercury a copy of my commission, with all necessary instructions how to proceed, appointing the *Moro*, or head-land of Copiapo, to be our place of meeting. The business of the Mercury was to look into the port of Copiapo, called *Caldera*,[9] near which there are some gold-mines, and from whence considerable quantities of gold are exported in small vessels; and our bark had the advantage of being of that country build, so that she could not excite suspicion. Next day I hove in sight of the head-land of Copiapo, and lay to the southward, that I might not be seen from that port, which is to the northward of the *Moro de Copiapo*. While here, opposite a small island which lies athwart the mouth of Copiapo river, I sent the pinnace to fish between that isle and the main, and soon after saw a vessel crowding all sail towards us. She at first seemed too large for the Mercury, yet turned out to be her; when the officer told me he had looked into the port, but could see no shipping; but he had looked into a wrong place, and having made him sensible of his error, I sent him again to the right place, which was about six leagues farther north.

Next morning our pinnace returned, bringing only a few penguins which she had taken on the island in the bay of Copiapo. The Mercury had looked into Caldera, but saw nothing;

[9] The port of Caldera, or English harbour, is about twelve or fifteen miles to the N. of Copiapo river, having a considerable interposed promontory.—E.

nothing; and instead of making use of the land-wind to come off to me, had kept along shore in the bottom of the bay till the land-wind came in so strong that she was nearly lost on the lee-shore. On the 27th, I sent Mr Brooks, my first lieutenant, and Mr Rainor, first lieutenant of marines, to relieve Mr Randal and Mr Dodd in the Mercury, which I had fitted with a gang of oars, and, upon trial, she was found to make way at the rate of three knots, which might render her extremely useful in a calm. The 5th February, I dispatched Mr Brooks ahead in the Mercury, to see if there were any ships in the harbour of Arica, in lat. 18° 26′ S. and next day, at one p. m. having ranged along shore, by the breakers of *Pisagua*, *Camarones*, and *Victor*, I got sight of the head-land of Arica, with a ship at anchor on its northern side, and saw the Mercury standing out of the bay, by which I judged the ship was too warm for her, and therefore made all haste to get up to her with the Speedwell. On coming up, we found that the ship was already taken, and the Mercury only accidentally adrift. This prize was called the Rosario, of 100 tons, laden with cormorants dung, which they use for manuring the land which produces the cod-pepper, or *Capsicum*, from the cultivation of which they make a vast profit in the vale of Arica. The only white face in this ship was the pilot, whom I sent ashore to see if the owner would ransom his ship, the cargo being worth gold to them, but entirely useless to us. Next morning I received a letter from Miguel Diaz Gonzale, the owner of the ship, insisting pitifully on his poverty and distress, having a large family to provide for, and promising to meet me at Hilo or Quaco, to treat for a ransom.

We soon after took a small bark of ten tons, laden with *guana*, or cormorants dung, and having also some dried fish, which lay within a mile of Arica. By this time all the adjacent country was up in arms, and great numbers had come down to the coast, well mounted and armed, and seemingly well disciplined. To try their courage, I ordered the Mercury and launch to draw near the shore, as if we had really intended to land, though the landing-place here is altogether impracticable for European boats; and I also cannonaded the town briskly. Our balls made no execution, yet ploughed up the sand in front of the Spanish horse, throwing it all over them: But neither this, nor the approach of my small craft, made any impression, for they stood

stood firm, and at least shewed the countenance of as good troops as could be wished. This much disappointed me, as it shewed my men that the Spaniards were far from being cowards, as they had been represented. As soon as it was dark, Gonzales came off to me, and I agreed to let him have back his ship and six negroes on receiving 1500 dollars, reserving right to take any thing out of her that might be useful to us; and at ten next night he brought me the agreed sum, being the weight of 1300 dollars in ingots of virgin silver, called *pinnas* by the Spaniards, and the rest in coined dollars. He also made great enquiry for English commodities, for which he offered high prices, complaining that the French only supplied them with paltry goods and mere trifles, for which they carried off vast sums. He added, that he supposed the English merchants were all asleep, or too rich, as they did not come near them: And, although their ports were not so open as in other parts of the world, they yet know how to manage matters tolerably well; and that their governors, being generally Europeans, who seldom remained above three years in the country, used any means to improve their time, and could easily be gained so as to act very obligingly. He said much more as to the blindness of the English, in suffering the French pedlars to carry on, uninterruptedly, the most considerable branch of traffic in the world. Before leaving me, he desired me to carry his ship two or three leagues out to sea, and then to turn her adrift, on purpose to deceive the governor and the king's officers; and, if I would meet him at *Hilo* [*Ilo*,] about twenty-five leagues to the north-westwards, he would purchase from me any coarse goods I had to dispose of, which might be done there with all imaginable secrecy. At this time also, the master of the small bark came off in a *balsa*. This is an odd sort of an embarkation, consisting of two large seal skins, separately blown up, like bladders, and made fast to pieces of wood. On this he brought off two jars of brandy and forty dollars; which, considering his mean appearance, was as much as I could expect. One part of his cargo was valuable, being a considerable quantity of excellent dried fish.

The port of *Arica*, formerly so famous for the great quantities of silver shipped from thence, is now much diminished in its riches, and appears mostly a heap of ruins, except the church of St Mark, and two or three more, which still look tolerably

tolerably well. What helps to give it a very desolate appearance is, that the houses near the sea are only covered with mats. Being situated on the sea-shore, in an open roadstead, it has no fortifications of any kind to defend or command the anchorage, the Spaniards thinking it sufficiently secured by the heavy surf, and the rocky bottom near the shore, which threaten inevitable destruction to any European boats, or other embarkation, except what is expressly contrived for the purpose, being the *balsas* already mentioned. To obstruct the landing of an enemy, the Spaniards had formerly a fort and entrenchments, flanking the store-creeks; but being built of unburnt bricks, it is now fallen to ruins. In 1680, when Dampier was here, being repulsed before the town, the English landed at the creek of *Chacota*, to the south of the head-land, whence they marched over the mountain [*Gordo*] to plunder Arica. Earthquakes also, which are frequent here, have at last ruined the town, and Arica is now no more than a little village of about 150 families, most of them negroes, mulattoes, and Indians, with very few whites. On the 26th November, 1605,[10] the sea, violently agitated by an earthquake, suddenly overflowed, and broke down the greatest part of the town, and the ruins of its streets are to be seen at this day. What remains of Arica is not now liable to such an accident, being situated on a little rising ground at the foot of the head-land. Most of the houses are only constructed of a sort of fascines, made of flags or sedges, bound together, called *totora*, set up on end, crossed by canes and leather thongs; or are made of canes set on end, having the intervals filled with earth. The use of unburnt bricks is reserved for churches and the stateliest houses; and as no rain ever falls here, they are only covered with mats, so that the houses seem all in ruins when seen from the sea. The parish church, dedicated to St Mark, is handsome enough. There are also three religious houses, one a monastery of seven or eight *mercenarians*, a second is an hospital of the brothers of *St John of God*, and the third a monastery of Franciscans, who formerly had a house a short way from town, in the pleasantest part of the vale, near the sea.

The vale of Arica is about a league wide next the sea, all barren ground except where the old town stood, which is divided

[10] Perhaps this date ought to have been 1705.—E.

vided into small fields of clover, some small plantations of sugar-canes, with olive-trees and cotton-trees intermixed, and several intervening marshes, full of the sedges of which they build their houses. Growing narrower about a league eastward at the village of *St Michael de Sapa,* they begin to cultivate the *agi,* or Guinea pepper, which culture extends over all the rest of the vale, in which there are several detached farms exclusively devoted to its culture. In that part of the vale, which is very narrow, and about six leagues long, they raise yearly to the value of above 80,000 crowns. The Spaniards of Peru are so much addicted to this spice, that they dress no meat without it, although so hot and biting that no one can endure it, unless accustomed to its use; and, as it cannot grow in the *Puna,* or mountainous country, many merchants come down every year, who carry away all the Guinea pepper that grows in the districts of *Arica, Sama, Taena, Locumba,* and others, ten leagues around, from all of which it is reckoned they export yearly to the value of 600,000 dollars, though sold cheap. It is hard to credit that such vast quantities should go from hence, as the country is so parched up, except the vales, that nothing green is to be seen. This wonderful fertility is produced by the dung of fowls, which is brought from *Iquique,* and which fertilizes the soil in a wonderful manner, making it produce four or five hundred for one of all sorts of grain, as wheat, maize, and so forth, but particularly of this *agi,* or Guinea pepper, when rightly managed. When the plants are sufficiently grown in the seed-bed to be fit for transplanting, they are set out in winding lines like the letter S, that the furrows for conveying the water may distribute it equally to the roots of the plants. They then lay about the root of each plant of Guinea pepper as much *guana,* or bird's dung formerly mentioned, as will lie in the hollow of the hand. When in blossom, they add a little more; and, lastly, when the pods are completely formed, they add a good handful more to each plant, always taking care to supply them with water, as it never rains in this country; otherwise, the salts contained in the manure, not being dissolved, would burn the plants, as has been found by experience. It is also for this reason that this manure is laid on at different times, as already explained, the necessity of which has been found by long use, and by the superior value of the crops thus produced.

For

For the carriage of this *guana*, or fowl's dung, the people at Arica generally use that sort of little camels which the Indians of Peru call *Llamas*, the Chilese, *Chilihneque*, and the Spaniards, *Carneros de la tierra*, or native sheep. The heads of these animals are small in proportion to their bodies, and are somewhat in shape between the head of a horse and that of a sheep, the upper lips being cleft like that of a hare, through which they can spit to the distance of ten paces against any one who offends them, and if the spittle happens to fall on the face of a person, it causes a red itchy spot. Their necks are long, and concavely bent downwards, like that of a camel, which animal they greatly resemble, except in having no hunch on their backs, and in being much smaller. Their ordinary height is from four feet to four and a half, and their ordinary burden does not exceed an hundred-weight. They walk, holding up their heads with wonderful gravity, and at so regular a pace as no beating can quicken. At night it is impossible to make them move with their loads, for they lie down till these are taken off, and then go to graze. Their ordinary food is a sort of grass called *yeho*, somewhat like a small rush, but finer, and has a sharp point, with which all the mountains are covered exclusively. They eat little, and never drink, so that they are very easily maintained. They have cloven feet like sheep, and are used at the mines to carry ore to the mills; and, as soon as loaded, they set off without any guide to the place where they are usually unloaded. They have a sort of spur above the foot, which renders them sure-footed among the rocks, as it serves as a kind of hook to hold by. Their hair, or wool rather, is long, white, grey, and russet, in spots, and fine, but much inferior to that of the Vicunna, and has a strong and disagreeable scent.

The *Vicunna* is shaped much like the Llama, but much smaller and lighter, their wool being extraordinarily fine and much valued. These animals are often hunted after the following manner: Many Indians gather together, and drive them into some narrow pass, across which they have previously extended cords about four feet from the ground, having bits of wool or cloth hanging to them at small distances. This so frightens them that they dare not pass, and gather together in a string, when the Indians kill them with stones tied to the ends of leather thongs. Should any *quanacos* happen to be among the flock, these leap over the cords, and are

are followed by all the *vicunnas.* These *quanacos* are larger and more corpulent, and are also called *viscachas.* There is yet another animal of this kind, called *alpagnes,* having wool of extraordinary fineness, but their legs are shorter, and their snouts contracted in such a manner as to give them some resemblance to the human countenance. The Indians make several uses of these creatures, some of which carry burdens of about an hundred-weight. Their wool serves to make stuffs, cords, and sacks. Their bones are used for the construction of weavers utensils; and their dung is employed as fuel for dressing meat, and warming their huts.

Before the last war, a small fleet called the *armadilla* used to resort yearly to Arica, partly composed of kings ships, and partly those of private persons. By this fleet, European commodities were brought from Panama, together with quicksilver for the mines of *La Paz, Oruro La Plata,* or *Chuguizaca, Potosi,* and *Lipes;* and in return carried to Lima the king's fifth of the silver drawn from the mines. Since the galleons have ceased going to Porto-Bello, and the French have carried on the trade of supplying the coast of the South Sea with European commodities, Arica has been the most considerable mart of all this coast, and to which the merchants of the five above-mentioned rich towns resort. It is true that the port of *Cobija* is nearer *Lipes* and *Potosi;* but being situated in a barren and desert country, where nothing can be procured for the subsistence of man or beast, the merchants chuse rather to go to Arica, though more distant, as they are sure to find at that place every thing they need. Besides, they find no great difficulty in bringing there their silver privately in a mass, and compounding with the corregidores or chief magistrates to avoid paying the royal fifth.

On leaving Arica, we sailed for the road of Ilo, about 75 miles to the N. W. where we arrived that same afternoon, and saw a large ship with three small ones at anchor. The great ship immediately hoisted French colours, being the *Wise Solomon* of 40 guns, commanded by Mons. Dumain, who was resolved to protect the vessels that were beside him, and to oppose my coming into the road. As it grew dark before I could get into the road, I sent my third lieutenant, Mr La Porte, a Frenchman, to inform Mr Dumain who we were: But my officer no sooner got on board than he was tumbled out again, the Frenchman calling him a renegado; and

and Mr Dumain sent me word he would sink me if I offered to anchor there. La Porte also told me, that to his knowledge the French ships often accepted Spanish commissions, when there were English cruizers on this coast, having great privileges in trade allowed them for this service; and he could plainly see that the French ship was double manned, by means of inhabitants from the town, who were partly French; and, as he supposed, would come to attack me as soon as the wind was off shore. While thus talking, the French ship fired several guns at us, as if to shew that they were ready, and meant shortly to be with us. At first, this bravado heated me not a little, and I had some design of turning the Mercury into a fire-ship, by the help of which I might have roasted this insolent Frenchman: But, having reflected on the situation of affairs at home, and fearing my attacking him might be deemed unjustifiable, notwithstanding his unwarranted conduct, I thought it best to stand out of the harbour.

On the 12th February, the moiety of the money taken at Arica was divided among the company according to their shares. On the 22d we found ourselves in the heights of *Calao*, the port of Lima; on which I furled all my sails, resolving to get away in the night; knowing, if we were discovered from thence, that we should certainly be pursued by some Spanish men of war, as there are always some in that port. On the 26th, the officers in the Mercury desired to be relieved, and I spoke to Captain Hately, whose turn it was to take the command of that bark. This gentleman had been long a prisoner among the Spaniards in this country, which he was well acquainted with, having travelled between Payta and Lima by land, on which occasion he had observed several rich towns, which made him conceive we might do something to purpose, by cruizing along the coast, as far as the island of Lobos, in lat. 7° S. I approved of this, as it was probable we might meet some of the Panama ships, which always keep well in with the land, in order to have the benefit of the land-breezes. As the company of the Mercury seemed delighted with this project, I augmented their complement, giving them a month's provisions on board. I also lent Captain Hately my pinnace, mounted his bark with two of our quarter-deck guns, and gave him a copy of my commission, although it was very likely we should have frequent sight of the Mercury, between our present intended

tended separation, and our intended rendezvous at the island of Lobos, not above sixty leagues from where we then were.

When every thing was ready for their departure, Captain Betagh, whose turn it was to relieve the marine officer in the Mercury, being unwilling to go, went among our people with a terrified countenance, saying, that he and those with him in the Mercury were going to be sacrificed. Hearing this, I addressed my ship's company, telling them I could not conceive what this pestilent fellow meant by making such an uproar. I appealed to them all, if it had not been customary to relieve the officers in this manner, ever since we had this vessel in company, and asked them if ever they knew me select any man for going upon an enterprise, and had not, on the contrary, left it always to their own choice to go on any particular service out of the ship. I then desired to know who among them were of Betagh's opinion? Upon this, they all declared with one voice, that they had never entertained any such opinion; but, on the contrary, that I should always find them obedient to my commands. In the next place, I ordered the Mercury along side, and acquainted her crew with the speech Betagh had made in the Speedwell, and desired to know if any of them were apprehensive of being sold or sacrificed. At this they all set up a loud huzza, and requested they might go on the intended cruize in the Mercury. Accordingly Hately and Betagh went on board that bark, and put off from us, giving us three cheers, and stood right in for the land.

It may be proper to take some notice of the proceedings of the Mercury after she left me, as I have been informed from some of themselves and some prisoners. The very next day they took a small bark laden with rice, chocolate, wheat, flour, and the like; and the day following, another. On the 4th day, they took a ship of near 200 tons, in which were 150,000 dollars. Flushed with this success, Betagh prevailed upon Hately, and most of the people in the Mercury, not to rejoin me, saying, they had now enough to appear like gentlemen as long as they lived, but it would be a mere nothing when the owner's part was taken out, and the rest divided into 500 shares. He therefore thought, since fortune had been so kind to them, they ought to make the best of their way to India, as they had sufficient provisions and all other requisites for the voyage, and Captain Hately was well able to conduct them to some port in the

East Indies. This plan was accordingly resolved on, and they fell to leeward of the place of rendezvous. But, weighing with himself the prodigious extent of the run, and its many hazards, and well knowing the treatment he might expect in India, if his treachery were discovered, Captain Hately became irresolute, and could not determine what was best to be done, so that he kept hovering on the coast. In the mean time, some of his crew went away in his boat to surrender themselves to the enemy, rather than be concerned in such a piratical undertaking. Betagh and his accomplices still kept Hately warm with liquor, and at length brought him to the resolution of leaving the South Sea. But they had no sooner clapped their helm a-weather for this purpose than they saw a sail standing towards them, which proved to be a Spanish man of war, which caught them, and spoilt their India voyage. The English prisoners were very indifferently used; but Betagh, being a Roman Catholic, and of a nation which the Spaniards are very fond of,[11] was treated with much respect, and was even made an officer.

In the morning of the 29th February, we saw a vessel at anchor in the road of *Guanchaeo*, and anchored alongside of her at eleven a. m. She was called the Carmasita, of about 100 tons, having only two Indian men and a boy on board, and her only loading was a small quantity of timber from Guayaquil. From these prisoners, I was informed of a rich ship being in the cove of Payta, having put in there to repair some damage she had sustained in a gale of wind. On this information I put immediately to sea, but in purchasing our anchor, the cable parted, and we lost our anchor. Our prize being new and likely to sail well, I took her with us, naming her the St David, designing to have made her a complete fire-ship as soon as we should be rejoined by the Mercury, in which there were materials for that purpose. Next day we looked into Cheripe, whence we chased a small vessel, which ran on shore to avoid us. Next morning, being near Lobos, our appointed rendezvous with the Mercury, I sent ashore my second lieutenant, Mr Randal, with two letters in separate bottles, directing Captain Hately to follow

[11] He seems to have been a Fleming, taken on board at Ostend, when the voyage was originally intended to have proceeded under an imperial commission.—E.

follow me to Payta, to which port I now made the best of my way, and arrived before it on the 18th of March, and sent Mr Randal to look into the cove, to bring me an account of what ships were there, that I might know what to think of the information we had received from our prisoners.

On the 21st, I steered directly in for the cove of Payta, which I entered under French colours about four in the afternoon. We found only a small ship there, of which Mr Brooks took possession in the launch. About seven p. m. we came to anchor within three quarters of a mile of the town. The town seemed to be moderately large and populous, and there might probably be some land-forces for its defence, being the rendezvous of the ships which trade between Panama and Caloa; yet, as the taking of this place was treated in our instructions as a matter of importance, I consulted with my officers as to the best manner of making the attempt. Leaving the charge of the ship with the master, Mr Coldsea, and a few hands, to look after the negroes we had on board, and with orders to bring the ship nearer to the town, for the more expeditiously embarking any plunder we might make; I landed with forty-six men, well armed, about two in the morning of the 22d, and marched directly up to the great church without the slightest opposition, for we found the town entirely deserted by the inhabitants.

At day-light, we observed large bodies of men on the hills, on both sides of the town, which we expected would have come down to attack us; but, on marching up towards them, they retired before us. Hitherto we had taken no prisoners, except an old Indian and a boy, who told us that Captain Clipperton had been here some time before, and had set some prisoners ashore, who assured them he meant not to do them any injury; but that the inhabitants, not thinking fit to trust him, had removed all their valuable effects into the mountains, among which were 400,000 dollars belonging to the king, which had been a fine prize for Clipperton, who certainly would have found no greater difficulty in taking this town than I did.

I was constrained suddenly to halt, in consequence of hearing a gun fired from the ship, soon after which word was brought me that she was ashore. I hurried off as fast as I could, carrying with us the union-flag, which I had planted in the church-yard; and, as we were re-embarking, the enemy came running down the hill, hallooing after us. When I got

I got on board, I found the ship entirely afloat, but within her own breadth of the rocks; and, as the water was quite smooth, we soon warped her off again. We then returned to the town, whence the Spaniards retired as peaceably as before. The remainder of the day was employed in shipping off what plunder we could find, which consisted of hogs, brown and white *calavances*, beans, Indian corn, wheat, flour, sugar, and as many *cocoa nuts*[12] as we were able to stow away, together with pans and other conveniences for preparing it, so that we were now amply provided with excellent breakfast meat for the rest of our voyage, and were, besides, full of other provisions.

At eight in the morning of the 23d, a messenger came in to know what ransom I would take for the town and the ship, for which I demanded 10,000 dollars in twenty-four hours. At eight next morning, I had a letter from the governor, signifying, that as I wrote in French, neither he nor any one about him could understand its contents; but if I would write in Latin or Spanish, I might depend on a satisfactory answer. In the afternoon, I sent for one of our quarter-deck guns on shore, which was mounted at our guard, and was fired at sun-set, midnight, and break of day. The messenger returned in the morning of the 24th, accompanied by the master of the ship we had taken, and on hearing of their arrival, I went on shore to know what they had to propose. I understood from them that the governor was determined not to ransom the town, and did not care what became of it, provided the churches were not burnt. Though I never had any intention to destroy any place devoted to divine worship, I answered that I should have no regard to the churches, or any thing else, when I set the town on fire; and I told the master of the vessel, he might expect to see her in flames immediately, if not ransomed without delay. This seemed to make a great impression, and he promised to return in three hours with the money. I then caused every thing to be taken out of the town that could be of any use to us, after which I ordered the town to be set on fire in several places; and, as the houses were old and dry, it instantly became a bonfire.

In the midst of this conflagration, the people in the Speedwell made many signals for me to come on board, and kept continually

[12] Cacao, chocolate-nuts, are almost certainly here meant.—E.

continually firing towards the mouths of the harbour. As I could only guess the meaning of all this, I went on board as soon as possible in a canoe, having only three men along with me. Before I could reach the ship, I could distinctly see a large ship, with a Spanish flag at her fore-topmast-head, and her fore-topsail a-back. At this sight, two of my three men were ready to faint, and if it had not been for my boatswain, I doubt if I should have got on board; and if the Spanish admiral had acted with vigour, he might have taken the ship long enough before I got to her. It is bare justice to Mr Coldsea to say, that he fired so smartly on the Spaniard as to induce him to act with great precaution, which had been quite unnecessary if he had known our weakness. His caution, however, gave me the opportunity of getting on board; and, in the mean time, my officers were so unwilling to leave our guard-gun ashore, that they spent a great while in getting it into the boat, so that I was afraid the enemy would attack us before our people could get on board. The Spaniard was, however, in no hurry, thinking, no doubt, that we could not well escape him, yet was within pistol-shot of us before the last of our men got on board, being about fifty in all. We now cut our cable, but our ship fell round the wrong way, so that I had just room enough to fall clear of the enemy. Being now close together, the formidable appearance of the enemy struck an universal damp on the spirits of my people; some of whom, in coming off from the shore, were for jumping into the water and swimming on shore, which a few actually did.

The enemy was a fine European-built ship, of 50 guns, and the disproportion was so great between us, that there seemed no hopes of escaping, as we were under his lee. I endeavoured to get into shoal water, but he becalmed me with his sails, and confined us for the best part of an hour, during which he handled us very roughly with his cannon, making very little use of his small-arms, never allowing us a moment's ease, but as soon as his broadside was ready, he gave his ship the starboard helm, bringing as many of his guns to bear as possible, and at the same time kept me from the wind. We returned his fire as briskly as we could; but, in our precipitate retreat from the town, most of our small arms were wetted, so that it was long before they were of any use. During this action, there was a strange confusion on shore, where the people had flocked down from the hills

to

to extinguish the fire in Payta, in which some of them were busily employed, while others stood on the shore, spectators of our engagement. I was long in despair of getting away from the Spaniard, expecting nothing less than to be torn in pieces by his superior fire, unless we could have an opportunity of trying our heels with him while our masts remained standing. I expected every minute that he would board us, and hearing a hallooing among them, and seeing their forecastle full of men, I concluded that they had come to this resolution; but soon saw that it proceeded from our ensign being shot down, on which I made another be displayed in the mizen-shrouds, on sight of which they lay snug as before, keeping close upon our quarter. Intending at length to do our business at once, they clapped their helm hard a-starboard, in order to bring their whole broadside to bear, but their fire had little effect, and it muzzled themselves, which gave us an opportunity to get away from them.

This certainly was a lucky escape, after an engagement of three glasses with an enemy so much our superior; for he had 56 guns and 450 men, while we had only 20 guns mounted and only 73 men, of whom 11 were negroes and two Indians. He had farther the vast advantage over us of being in perfect readiness, while we were in the utmost confusion; and in the middle of the engagement, a third of my people, instead of fighting, were hard at work in preparing for an obstinate resistance; particularly the carpenter and his crew, who were busy in making port-holes for stern-chase guns, which, as it happened, we made no use of. Yet were we not unhurt, as the loss of my boat and anchor were irreparable, and may be said to have been the cause of that scene of trouble which fell upon us soon after; as we had now only one anchor remaining, that lost at Payta being the third, and we had not now a boat of any kind. I have since learnt that some of our shots in the engagement were well directed, and that we killed and wounded several of the enemy.

Having thus got away from the *Peregrine*, I slipped off in the evening with much ado from the Brilliant, her consort, on board of which Betagh now was, and even desired to be the first to board me. I was now in a very uncomfortable situation, not having the smallest hope of meeting with the Success; and I had learned at Payta, that the Spaniards had laid on an embargo for six months, so that we had nothing to expect in the way of prizes; and, having seen our

prize

prize taken, we had reason to expect that all our designs were discovered by the enemy. Having now only one anchor and no boat, it is not to be wondered that I gave up all idea of making an attempt on Guayaquil, which I at first proposed, having intelligence that there were several ships of considerable value in that river, in consequence of the embargo, which might have done me some service, if I had been better provided. In this situation, it was resolved, in a committee of my officers, to return to the southwards, or to windward, as the Spaniards must necessarily continue their trade with Chili, in spite of their embargo; after which we proposed to water at Juan Fernandez, and then to cruize on the coast of Conception, Valparaiso, and Coquimbo, for the coasting traders, among whom we might supply ourselves with anchors, cables, and boats, and a vessel to fit out as a fire-ship. I also proposed, before leaving the coast of Chili, to make an attempt on La Serena or Coquimbo. After all this, I proposed to proceed for the coast of Mexico, and thence to the *Tres Marias* and California, as the most likely means of meeting with the Success; besides which, the former of these places might be commodious for salting turtle, to serve as sea stores, and the latter for laying in a stock of wood and water; after which we might lie in the track of the Manilla ship. But if we could not succeed in that attempt, we might then satisfy ourselves with cruizing for the Peruvian ships, which bring silver to Acapulco for purchasing the Indian and Chinese commodities.

My plan being approved, we proceeded to windward, having secured our masts and bent a new set of sails on the 26th, after which we stood to the southward, expecting to make our passage in about five weeks. The carpenters were now set to work to build a new boat, that we might have the means of watering our ship. On the 31st, while working the pumps, the water not only came in in greater quantity than usual, but was as black as ink, which made me suspect some water had got at our powder; and on going into the powder-room, I found the water rushing in like a little sluice, which had already spoiled the greatest part of our powder, only six barrels remaining uninjured, which I immediately had stowed away in the bread-room. It pleased God that we now had fair weather, as otherwise we might have had much difficulty to keep our ship afloat. We found the leak on the larboard side, under the lower cheek of the head,

where

where a shot had lodged and afterwards dropt out, leaving room for a stream of water. We accordingly brought down our ship by the stern, and secured the leak effectually. At this time we had an abundant stock of provisions. Each man had a quart of chocolate and three ounces of rusk for breakfast; and had fresh meat or fresh fish every day for dinner, having plenty of the latter about the ship, so that we could almost always make our choice between dolphin and albicore.

On the 6th May we made the westermost of the islands of Juan Fernandez, otherwise called *Mas a Fuero*, distant twelve leagues N.E. by N. and the day after, our carpenters had completed our new boat, which could carry three hogsheads. On the 12th we saw the great island of Juan Fernandez, bearing E. ½ S. being in latitude, by observation, 33° 40′ S. a joyful sight at the time, though so unfortunate to us in the sequel. We plied off and on till the 21st, but could not get as much water on board daily in that time as supplied our daily expenditure, owing to the smallness of our boat, which made it necessary for us to anchor in the roads till that purpose was accomplished, in order for which I prepared to raft twenty tons of casks on shore. We worked in and anchored in forty fathoms, carrying a warp on shore, which we fastened to the rocks, of three hawsers and a half in length, which both steadied the ship, and enabled us to haul our cask-raft ashore and aboard. By this means we were ready to go to sea again next morning, having filled all our water casks; but had no opportunity of so doing for four days, during which we continued to anchor in the same manner.

On the 25th May, a hard gale came upon us from seaward, bringing with it a great tumbling swell, by which at length our cable parted. This was a dismal accident, as we had no means whatever by which to avoid the prospect of immediate destruction. But Providence interposed in our behalf: For had we struck only a cable's length to the east or west of where we did, we must all have inevitably perished. When our ill-fated ship touched the rock, we had all to hold fast by some part of the ship or rigging, otherwise the violence of her shock in striking must have tossed us all into the sea. Our three masts went all away together by the board. In short, words are wanting to express the wretched condition in which we now were, or our astonishment at our unexpected and unfortunate shipwreck.

SECTION

Section III.

Residence on the Island of Juan Fernandez.

Having all got on shore in the evening, my officers gathered around me to bear me company, and to devise measures for procuring necessaries out of the wreck; and having lighted a fire, wrapped themselves up in what they could get, and slept very soundly, notwithstanding the coldness of the weather, and our hopeless situation. I would have set the people to work that very night, in endeavouring to save what we could from the wreck, but they were so dispersed that we could not gather them together, and all opportunity was lost of saving any thing, except some of our fire-arms. But while the people were employed in building tents, and making other preparations for their residence on the island, the wreck was entirely destroyed, and every thing in her was lost, except one cask of beef and one of *farina de pao,* which were washed on shore. Thus all our provisions were gone, and every thing else that might have been useful. I had saved 1100 dollars belonging to the owners, which happened to be in my chest in the great cabin, all the rest of their treasure being in the bottom of the bread-room for security, which consequently could not be come at.

I now took some pains to find out a convenient place in which to set up my tent, and at length found a commodious spot of ground not half a mile from the sea, having a fine stream of water on each side, with trees close at hand for firing, and building our huts. The people settled around me as well as they could, and as the cold season was coming on, some thatched their huts, while others covered theirs with the skins of seals and sea-lions. Others again satisfied themselves with water-butts, in which they slept under cover of trees. Having thus secured ourselves from the weather, we used to pass our time in the evenings around a great fire before my tent, where my officers usually assembled, employing themselves in roasting cray-fish in the embers; sometimes bewailing our unhappy fate, and sinking into despondency; and at other times feeding ourselves with hopes that something might yet be done to set us again afloat. On this subject I first consulted with the carpenter, who answered, that he

he could not make bricks without straw, and then walked from me in a surly humour. From him I went to the armourer, and asked what he could do for us in his way that might contribute to build a small vessel. To this he answered, that he hoped he could do all the iron work, as he had fortunately saved his bellows from the wreck, with four or five *spadoes* or Spanish swords, which would afford him steel, and there could be no want of iron along shore; besides, that we should doubtless find many useful things when we came to work in good earnest. He desired therefore, that I would get some charcoal made for him, while he set up his forge.

Upon this encouragement, I called all hands together, and explained to them the great probability there was of our being able to build a vessel sufficient to transport us from this island; but that it would be a laborious task, and must require their united best endeavours. To this they all consented, and promised to work with great diligence, begging me to give them directions how to proceed. I then ordered the men who had axes on shore, before the wreck, to cut wood for making charcoal, while the rest went down to the wreck to get the boltsprit ashore, of which I proposed to make the keel of our intended vessel; and I prevailed on the carpenter to go with me, to fix upon the properest place for building. The people found a great many useful materials about the wreck; and among the rest the topmast, which had been washed on shore, and was of the greatest importance.

We laid the blocks for building upon on the 8th June, and had the boltsprit ready at hand to lay down as the keel; when the carpenter turned short round upon me, and swore an oath that he would not strike another stroke on the work, for he would be slave to nobody, and thought himself now on a footing with myself. I was at first angry, but came at length to an agreement with him, to give him a four-pistole piece as soon as the stern and stern-posts were up, and 100 dollars when the bark was finished, and the money to be committed to the keeping of any one he chose to name. This being settled, he went to work upon the keel, which was to be thirty feet long; the breadth of our bark, by the beam, sixteen feet, and her hold seven feet deep. In two months we made a tolerable shew, owing in a great measure to the ingenuity of Poppleston, our armourer, who never lost a minute in working with his hands, or contriving in his head.

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He made us a small double-headed maul, hammers, chisels, and a sort of gimblets or wimbles, which performed very well. He even made a bullet-mould, and an instrument to bore cartouch-boxes, which he made from the trucks of our gun-carriages, covering them with seal-skins, and contrived to make them not only convenient, but neat. He contrived to execute any iron-work wanted by the carpenter, and even finished a large serviceable boat, of which we stood much in need.

In the beginning of this great work the people behaved themselves very well, half of them working regularly one day, and the other half the next, seeming every day to grow easier under our misfortunes. They treated me with as much respect as I could wish, and even in a body thanked me for the prospect of their deliverance; while I never failed to encourage them by telling them stories of the great things that had been accomplished by the united efforts of men in similar distresses. I always pressed them to stick close to the work, that we might get our bark ready in time; and told them that we fortunately had three of the best ports in Chili within 120 leagues of us. This inspired them with life and vigour, and they often declared that they would exert their utmost endeavours to finish her with all expedition. At last, however, we became a prey to faction, so that it was a miracle we ever got off from this place. For, after completing the most laborious part of the work, they entirely neglected it; and many of my officers, deserting my society, herded with the meanest of the ship's company. I was now convinced in a suspicion I had long entertained, that some black design was in embryo; for when I met any of my officers, and asked what they were about, and the reason of their acting so contrary to their duty, by diverting the people from their work, some used even to tell me they knew not whether they would leave the island or not, when my bundle of sticks was ready; that they cared not how matters went, for they could shift for themselves as well as the rest. When I spoke with the common men, some were surly, and others said they would be slaves no longer, but would do as the rest did. In the midst of these confusions, I ordered my son to secure my commission in some dry place among the woods or rocks, remembering how Captain Dampier had been served in these seas.

At

At length, I one afternoon missed all the people, except Mr Adamson the surgeon, Mr Hendric the agent, my son, and Mr Dodd, lieutenant of marines, which last feigned lunacy, for some reason best known to himself. I learnt at night that they had been all day assembled at the great tree, in deep consultation, and had framed a new set of regulations and articles, by which the owners in England were excluded from any share in what we might take for the future, divested me of all authority as captain, and regulated themselves according to the *Jamaica discipline.*[1] Even the chief officers, among the rest, had concurred in electing one Morphew to be their champion and speaker, who addressed the assembly to the following purport: "That they were now their own masters, and servants to none: and as Mr Shelvocke, their former captain, took upon him still to command, he ought to be informed, that whoever was now to be their commander, must be so through their own courtesy. However, that Mr Shelvocke might have the first offer of the command, if the majority thought fit, but not otherwise. That Mr Shelvocke carried himself too lofty and arbitrarily for the command of a privateer, and ought to have continued in men-of-war, where the people were obliged to bear all hardships quietly, whether right or wrong."

Some persons present, who had a regard for me, represented, "That they had never seen or known me treat any one unjustly or severely; and that however strict I might be, they had no one else to depend upon, and that they ought all to consider how many difficulties I had already brought them through. That, although they were not now in the hands of our enemies, no one could tell how soon others might come upon them: and, if they ever looked to get back to England, there was no other way but by going round the world, for which there was no one capable of undertaking the charge except Captain Shelvocke. They ought also to consider his commission, and the respect due to him on that account; besides the protection that would afford them, should they happen to fall into the hands of the Spaniards."

This remonstrance had some effect on the common men, but

[1] This expression is not explained, but seems to have been, according to the model of the Buccaneers, all prizes to be divided among the captors.—E.

but they were diverted from the thoughts of returning to obedience by no less a person than my first lieutenant, Mr Brooks, who had made Morphew his confidant even on board ship: for having served before the mast before he was made my lieutenant, he had contracted a liking for forecastle conversation. They were also supported and encouraged by Mr Randal, my second lieutenant, who was brother-in-law to Brooks, and by others. The first remarkable outrage committed by this gang of levellers was to Mr La Porte, my third lieutenant, whom Morphew knocked down on the beach, while Brooks stood by and witnessed this brutality. This affair came soon after to be fully explained; for the men framed a new set of articles, putting themselves upon the Jamaica discipline, and declaring, as I had been their captain, I might be so still; and that they were willing to allow me six shares, as a mark of their regard, though I ought only to have four, according to the Jamaica articles. Most of the officers were reduced, according to the same plan: for instance, Mr La Porte, Mr Dodd, and Mr Hendrie were declared midshipmen; and as the superior officers consented to this scheme, it could not be prevented from being carried into execution. Mr Coldsea the master was the only person who preserved a kind of neutrality, neither promoting nor opposing their designs. In this distressed emergency, I thought it lawful, and even necessary, to submit to their demands, and therefore signed their articles, in conjunction with the rest of my officers.

I now thought to have got them to work on our bark; but, instead of listening to me, they demanded what little money I had saved belonging to the owners, with which I was obliged to comply, being 750 dollars in virgin silver, a silver dish weighing 75 ounces, and 250 dollars in coin. Even after this I was treated worse than ever, having only the refuse of the fish allowed me, after they had chosen the best, being glad, after a hard day's work, to dine upon seal; while Morphew and his associates feasted on the best fish the sea afforded. They next took the arms out of my custody, of which hitherto I had taken great care; because, having only one flint to each musket, and very little ammunition, I foresaw that we would be undone if this were wasted. I represented all this to them, yet they squandered away the small remainder of powder and bullets in killing cats, or any thing else they could get to fire at.—This is a concise history

tory of our transactions in the island of Juan Fernandez, from the 24th May to the 15th August, during which no person could suffer more than I did, or have a more uncomfortable prospect.

On the 15th of August we were put into great confusion by the sight of a large ship, on which, before she crossed the bay, I ordered all the fires to be put out, and the negroes and Indians to be confined, lest the ship might be becalmed under the land, and any of them should attempt to swim off to her, as I conceived she might possibly be a man-of-war come to seek us, having received advice of our shipwreck; yet I knew, if she discovered what we were about, we should soon have the whole force of the kingdom of Chili upon us. Our apprehensions were soon over, as the ship bore away large, and kept at too great a distance to see any thing of us. On this occasion I got most of our people under arms, and was glad to see them in some measure obedient to command; telling them that I was pleased to see their arms in such good order, I was impertinently answered, that this was for their own sakes. Before they dispersed, I represented to them the necessity of using their best endeavour to get our bark afloat, instead of caballing against their captain, which, in the end, might be very prejudicial to them all; as, if discovered by the Spaniards, we might expect to be all made slaves in the mines. I told them we still had a great deal of work to do, and had never above ten of the most considerate to labour, and seldom above six or seven; while they knew I was always one of the number, to shew a good example. But the more I tried to reclaim them, the more obstinately they ran into confusion, interrupting every thing that tended to do them service.

Next day they divided among themselves on a new scheme, being no less than to burn our bark, and to build two large shallops, or pinnaces, in lieu of her. Morphew and his friend Brooks were the favourers of this new design, aiming doubtless at a separation by this means: but as this must be determined by a majority, they assembled to debate this matter in front of my tent, carrying on their deliberations with much clamour on both sides. In order to put them off this ruinous plan, I represented to them the impracticability of building the boats, as our tools and other materials were already worn out and expended. The workmen, and a considerable majority of the rest, sided with me: but at night the

the carpenter sent me word, if I did not pay him the money agreed upon at first, I should never see his face again; wherefore, although his terms had not been implemented, I was obliged to raise the money for him. The most provoking part of this proposal about the boats was, that the fellows who chiefly promoted it were those who had never done an hour's work since we were cast away. Not gaining this point, they openly declared I should not be their captain, and that none but Brooks should command them, which was probably what that young man aspired to from the commencement of the mutiny; and had undoubtedly succeeded, had it not been for the people in the boatswain's tent, who still refused their consent to my being left on the island, though fond of thinking themselves their own masters, and of refusing to submit to regular command.

To complete our confusion, there arose a third party, who resolved to have nothing to do with the rest, proposing to remain on the island. There were twelve of these, who separated from the rest, and never made their appearance except at night, when they used to come about the tents to steal powder, lead, and axes, and any thing else they could lay their hands on. But in a little time I found means to manage them, and took from them all their arms, ammunition, axes, and other plunder, and threatened to have them treated as enemies, if they came within musket-shot of our tents. These divisions so weakened the whole body, that they began to listen to me, so that I got most of them into a working humour. Even Brooks came to me with a feigned submission, desiring to eat with me again, yet in the main did not lessen his esteem for Morphew. His dissimulation, however, proved of infinite service in contributing to the finishing of our bark, which required the united efforts of all our heads and hands. For, when we came to plank the bottom, we had very vexatious difficulties to encounter, as our only plank consisted in pieces from the deck of our wreck, which was so dry and stubborn that fire and water had hardly any effect in making it pliable, as it rent, split, and flew in pieces like glass; so that I now began to fear that all our labour was in vain, and we must quietly wait to be taken off by some Spanish ship, and be led quietly to prison after all our troubles.

By constant labour, and using a variety of contrivances, we at length finished our bark, but in such a manner that I may

may safely assert, a similar bottom never before swam on the sea. Our boat also was launched on the 9th September; and our bark being now in a fair way of being completed, it remained to consider what provisions we could get to support us during our voyage, all our stock being one cask of beef, five or six bushels of *farina de poa*, or cassada flour, and four or five live hogs. I made several experiments to preserve both fish and seal, but found that this could not be done without salt. At length we fell upon a contrivance for curing conger eels, by splitting them, taking out their backbones, dipping them in sea-water, and then drying them in a great smoke; but as no other fish could be cured in a similar manner, our fishers were directed to catch as many congers as they could. At this time several of our people who had not hitherto done any work, began to repent of their folly, as they grew weary of living on this island, and now offered their services to go a-fishing, making some idle excuses for being so long idle, asking my pardon, and promising not to lose a moment in future. The new boat was sent to try her fortune, and returned at night with a great parcel of various kinds of fish, among which were about 200 congers, which was a good beginning, and which were divided among the tents to be cured. Our boat was carefully hauled on shore every night, and strictly guarded, to prevent any of our people from stealing her, and making their escape. By her means also, Mr Brooks, our only diver, tried what could be recovered from that part of the wreck which had not been drifted on shore; but could only weigh one small gun, and two pieces of a large church candlestick, belonging to our owners.

Our boat was daily employed in fishing, for which purpose the armourer supplied hooks; and our men made abundance of lines of twisted ribbons, a great quantity of which had been driven on shore. Others of the men were employed in making twine stuff for rigging, patching up old canvass for sails, and a variety of other necessary contrivances to enable us to put to sea; and our cooper put our casks in order; and at length we set up our masts, which were tolerably well rigged, and our bark made a decent figure. My spirits were however much damped, by the extreme difficulty of caulking her tight, as her seams were bad, our tools wretched, and our artists very indifferent. When this was done, so as we could, our bark was put into the wa-

ter

ter to try her fitness, on which there was an outcry of, A sieve! a sieve! Every one now seemed melancholy and dispirited, insomuch that I was afraid they would use no farther means; but in a little time, by incessant labour, we brought her into a tolerable condition. Having repaired the ship's pumps, and fitted them to the bark, the people exclaimed that this was only a poor dependence; but I exhorted them to have patience, and continue their assistance in doing every thing that could be thought of for her security. The cooper also made a set of buckets, one for every man, to serve to bale her, in case of necessity. Next spring-tide, which was on the 5th October, 1720, we put her again into the water, naming her the *Recovery*, when she answered tolerably well, when we resolved to run the hazard of going to sea in her, and made all possible dispatch in getting our things on board. Yet, after all, a dozen of our people chose to remain on shore, together with as many negroes and Indians.

Our sea-stock, besides the small quantity of beef and cassada flour formerly mentioned, consisted of 2300 eels cured in smoke, weighing one with another about a pound each, together with about sixty gallons of seal-oil, in which to fry them. On our first landing, as the weather was then too coarse for fishing, we had to live on seals, the entrails of which are tolerable food; but the constant and prodigious slaughter we made among them, frightened them from our side of the island. Some of the people eat cats, which I could not bring myself to, and declared they were sweet nourishing food. When the weather allowed us to fish, we were delivered from these hardships; but some of our mischievous crew set the boat a-drift, so that she was lost; after which we contrived wicker boats, covered with sea-lions skins, which did well enough near shore, but we durst not venture in them out into the bay, and consequently were worse provided with fish than we might otherwise have been. We fried our fish in seal-oil, and eat it without bread or salt, or any other relish, except some wild sorrel. Our habitations were very wretched, being only covered by boughs of trees, with the skins of seals and sea-lions, which were often torn off in the night, by sudden flaws of wind from the mountains.

The island of Juan Fernandez is in lat. 33° 40′ S. and long. 79° W. being at the distance of about 150 marine leagues,

or 7° 30′ from the coast of Chili. It is about fifteen English miles long from E. to W. and five miles at the broadest, from N. to S. entirely composed of mountains and valleys, so that there is no walking a quarter of a mile on a flat. The anchoring place is on the north side of the island, and is distinguished by a little mountain, with a high peak on each side. It is not safe to anchor in less than forty fathoms, and even there, ships are very much exposed to sharp gales from the north, which blow frequently. There cannot well be a more unpleasant place to anchor in, as the bay is surrounded by high mountains, and is subject to alternate dead calms and sudden stormy gusts of wind. This island enjoys a fine wholesome air, insomuch that out of seventy of us, who remained here five months and eleven days, not one among us had an hour's sickness, though we fed upon such foul diet, without bread or salt; so that we had no complaints among us, except an incessant craving appetite, and the want of our former strength and vigour. As for myself, from being corpulent, and almost crippled by the gout, I lost much of my flesh, but became one of the strongest and most active men on the island, walking much about, working hard, and never in the least afflicted with that distemper. The soil is fertile, and abounds with many large and beautiful trees, most of them aromatic. The names of such as we knew were the *Pimento*, which bears a leaf like a myrtle, but somewhat larger, with a blue blossom, the trunks being short and thick, and the heads bushy and round, as if trained by art. There is another tree, much larger, which I think resembles that which produces the jesuit bark. There are plains on the tops of some of the mountains, on which are groves of the *Indian laurel*, mentioned by Frezier in his description of Chili. These have a straight slender body, from which sprout small irregular branches all the way from the root to the top, bearing leaves like the laurel, but smaller. *Palm-trees* are found in most parts of the island, growing in smooth joints, like canes, some thirty and some forty feet high. Their heads resemble the cocoa-nut tree, except that their leaves are of a paler green, and bear large bunches of red berries, bigger than sloes, which taste like haws, and have stones as large as those of heart-cherries. That which we call the *palm-cabbage* is the very substance of the head of the tree; which being cut off and divested of its great spreading leaves, and all that is hard and tough, consists of a white

a white and tender young shoot or head, having its leaves and berries perfectly formed, and ready to replace the old one. When in search of these, we were forced to cut down a lofty tree for each individual cabbage.

One good property of the woods which cover this island is, that they are every where of easy access, as there is no undergrowth, except in some of the deepest valleys, where the fern grows exceedingly high, and of which there are very large trees, with trunks of considerable solidity.[2] Some of the English who had been formerly here, had sowed turnips, which have spread much, as have also two or three plantations of small pompions; but my men never had patience to let any of these come to maturity. We found also plenty of water-cresses and wild sorrel. Some of the hills are remarkable for a fine red earth, which I take to be the same with that of which the inhabitants of Chili make their earthenware, which is almost as beautiful as the red porcelain of China. The northern part of the island is well watered by a great many streams which flow down the narrow valleys; and we found the water to keep well at sea, and to be as good as any in the world. Down the western peak, contiguous to the Table Mountain, there fall two cascades from a perpendicular height of not less than 300 feet. These are close together, and about 12 feet broad. What with the rapid descent of these streams, and the numerous palm-trees growing close beside them, adorned with vast clusters of red berries, the prospect is really beautiful. We should have had no want of goats, could we have conveniently followed them in the mountains. The Spaniards, before they settled in Chili, left a breed of goats here, and have since endeavoured to destroy them, by leaving a breed of dogs, but without effect. Cats are also very numerous, exactly resembling our household cats in size and colour; and those of our men who eat of them, assured me they found more substantial relief from one meal of their flesh, than from four or five of seal or fish; and, to their great satisfaction, we had a small bitch, which could catch almost any number they wanted in an hour. There are not many sorts of birds; but the sea on the coast abounds with a greater variety of fish than almost any place I was ever in.

Seals

[2] These must have been some species of palm, having palmated leaves resembling ferns.—E.

Seals and sea-lions also abound; called *lobos de la mar* by the Spaniards, from their resemblance to wolves. They have a fine iron-grey fur, and when full grown are as big as a large mastiff. They are naturally surly, and snarl at the approach of any one. Instead of tails, they have two fins behind, with which they make shift to get on much faster than the sea-lions, which are large unwieldy creatures, and prodigiously full of oil.

SECTION IV.

Farther Proceedings in the South Sea, after leaving Juan Fernandez.

WE departed from Juan Fernandez on the evening of the 6th October, having nothing to subsist upon except the smoked congers, one of which was allowed to each man for twenty-four hours; together with one cask of beef, four live hogs, which had fed all the time we were ashore on the putrid carcases of seals, and three or four bushels of cassada meal. We were upwards of forty men, crowded together, and lying on the bundles of eels, with no means of keeping ourselves clean, so that all our senses were offended as greatly as possible. The only way we had of procuring water, was by sucking it from the cask with a gun-barrel, used promiscuously by every one. The little unsavoury morsels we daily eat, created incessant quarrels, every one contending for the frying-pan; and our only convenience for a fire, was a tub half filled with earth, which made cooking so tedious, that we had the continual noise of frying from morning to night. I proposed that we should stand for the Bay of Conception, as being the nearest to us; and we were hard put to it every day, while the sea-breeze continued; for, not having above sixteen inches free board, and our bark tumbling prodigiously, the water ran over us perpetually; and having only a grating deck, and no tarpauling to cover it but the top-sail of our bark, our pumps were barely sufficient to keep us free.

At four in the morning of the 10th, we fell in with a large ship, and I could see by moon-light that she was Europe-built. Our case being desperate, we stood towards her, and being rigged after the fashion of the South Seas, they did

did not regard us till day-light. Not being then quite up with her, they suspected us by the brownness of our canvas, wore ship, hauled close upon the wind, fired a gun, and crowded sail away from us, leaving us at a great rate. It fell calm two hours after, when we had recourse to our oars, and neared her with tolerable speed. In the mean time, we overhauled our arms, which we found in bad condition, a third of them wanting flints, and we had only three cutlasses, so that we were by no means prepared for boarding, which yet was the only means we had of taking the ship. We had only one small cannon, which we could not mount, and were therefore obliged to fire it as it lay along the deck; and we had only two round shot, a few chain-bolts, the clapper of the Speedwell's bell, and some bags of stones. We came up with her in four hours; but I now saw that she had guns and pattereroes, with a considerable number of men, whose arms glittered in the sun. The enemy defied us to board them, and at the same time gave us a volley of great and small shot, which killed our gunner, and almost brought our foremast by the board. This unexpected reception staggered many of my people, who before seemed most forward, so that they lay on their oars for some time, though I urged them to keep their way. Recovering again, we rowed quite up to them, and continued to engage till all our small shot was expended, which obliged us to fall astern to make some slugs, and in this manner we made three attacks without success. All night we were busied in making slugs, and provided a large quantity before morning, when we came to the determined resolution either to carry her by boarding, or to submit to her. At day-break, I accordingly ordered twenty men in our yawl to lay her athwart hawse, while I proposed to board her from the bark; but, just as we were on the point of making the attempt, a gale sprung up, and she went away from us. We learnt afterwards that she was the *Margaretta,* having formerly been a privateer from St Malo, mounting forty guns. In the several skirmishes, we had none killed, except Gilbert Henderson our gunner. Three were wounded, Mr Brooks being shot through the thigh, Mr Coldsea in the groin, and one of the crew in the small of the back. Mr Coldsea lingered in a miserable condition for nine or ten months, but at length recovered.

We were now in a worse condition than ever, and the sea

sea being too rough for our uncomfortable vessel, I proposed to stand to the north to get into fairer weather, but to take Coquimbo in our way, to try what might be done there. This was agreed to; but the very morning in which we expected to have got into Coquimbo, a hard gale of wind sprung up, which lasted four days, during which we every hour expected to founder, being obliged to scud under bare poles, with our yawl in tow, and having only a very short rope for her. This storm so frightened many of our people, that they resolved to go ashore at the first place they could find. At length, calling to mind the account given by Frezier of the island of *Iquique*, I mentioned the surprisal of that place, being but a small lieutenancy, where we might probably get some wholesome provisions, and a better vessel. This was approved, and the sun again shining, so that we lay dry, we acquired fresh vigour, and directed our course for that island. Next evening we saw the island, which seemed merely a high white rock, at the foot of the high land of *Carapucho*. Our boat set off for the island about sun-set, and had like to have been lost among the breakers. At length they heard the barking of dogs, and saw the light of some candles; but, aware of the danger of landing in the dark, they made fast their boat to a float of weeds for want of a grapnel, and waited till day-light. They then rowed in between the rocks, and were ignorantly welcomed on shore by some Indians. Going to the house of the lieutenant, they broke open the door, and rummaged it and the village, finding a booty more valuable to us in our present situation than gold or silver. This consisted of 60 bushels of wheat flour, 120 of calavanses and corn, some jerked beef, mutton, and pork, a thousand weight of well-cured fish, four or five days eating of soft bread, and five or six jars of Peruvian wine and brandy, besides a good number of fowls and some rusk. They had also the good fortune to find a boat to bring off their plunder, which otherwise had been of little use to us, as our own boat was fully laden with men.

In the mean time, we in the bark were carried away by the current to the northward, out of sight of the island; and as they had not loaded their boats till the height of the day, they had a laborious task to row off, being very heavily laden. We were under melancholy apprehensions, fearing that our people might have remained on shore and deserted us; but towards evening we perceived two boats coming fast towards us,

us, as heavily laden as they could be with safety. Words cannot express our joy when they came aboard. The scene was now changed from famine to plenty. The loaves of soft bread were distributed, and the jars of wine broached: But I took care they should drink of it moderately, allowing each man no more than half a pint a-day. After living a day or two on wholesome food, we wondered how our stomachs could receive and digest the rank nauseous congers fried in train-oil, and could hardly believe we had lived on nothing else for a month past. I was assured by my second lieutenant, who commanded the boat on this occasion, that the Indians seemed rather pleased at our plundering the Spaniards; so natural is it for bad masters to find enemies in their servants.

The *island of Iquique* is in the lat. of 19° 50′ S.[1] about a mile from the main land, and only about a mile and a half in circuit, the channel between it and the coast of Peru being full of rocks. It is of moderate height, and the surface consists mostly of cormorant's dung, which is so very white that places covered with it appear at a distance like chalk cliffs. Its smell is very offensive, yet it produces considerable gain, as several ships load here with it every year for Arica, where it is used as manure for growing capsicums. The only inhabitants of this island are negro slaves, who gather this dung into large heaps near the shore, ready for boats to take it off. The village where the lieutenant resides, and which our people plundered, is on the main land close by the sea, and consists of about sixty scattered ill-built houses, or huts rather, and a small church. There is not the smallest verdure to be seen about it, neither does its neighbourhood afford even the smallest necessary of life, not even water, which the inhabitants have to bring in boats from the *Quebrada,* or breach of *Pisagua,* ten leagues to the northward; wherefore, being so miserable a place, the advantage derived from the *guana* or cormorant's dung seems the only inducement for its being inhabited. To be at some distance from the excessively offensive stench of the dung, they have built their wretched habitations on the main, in a most hideous situation, and still

[1] There is no island on the coast of Peru in that latitude. Iquique is a town on the main land, about thirty miles from the sea. The islands called *los Patillos*, or the Claws, are near the coast, in lat. 20° 45′ S. and probably one of these may have got the name of *Iquique,* as being under the jurisdiction of that town. The mountain Carapacha of the text, is probably the hills of Tarapaca of our maps.—E.

still even too near the guana, the vapours from which are even there very bad, yet not quite so suffocating as on the island. The sea here affords abundance of excellent fish, some kinds of which I had never before seen; one of them resembling a large silver eel, but much thicker in proportion. The inhabitants of this desolate and forbidding place cure these fish in a very cleanly manner, and export large quantities of them by the vessels which come for the guana.

We were informed by two Indian prisoners, that the lieutenant of Iquique had a boat at Pisagua for water, of which we began to be in need, for which reason I sent Mr Randal in search of her. He failed in this object, but brought off a few bladders full of water, and three or four *balsas*, very artificially sewed and filled with wind, which are used for landing on this dangerous coast. On these the rower sits across, using a double paddle; and as the wind escapes from the skin bags, he has a contrivance for supplying the deficiency. These are the chief embarkations used by the fishermen, and are found very serviceable for landing on this coast, which has hardly a smooth beach from one end of it to the other. We intended to have looked into the port of Arica, but heard there was a ship there of force, on which we continued our course to the northwards to La Nasca. Off that port we met a large ship about two hours before day, and though we rowed very hard, it was ten o'clock before we got up with her. After a brisk dispute of six or seven hours, we were obliged to leave her, in consequence of the sea-breeze coming in very strong. She was called the Francisco Palacio, of 700 tons, 8 guns, and 10 patereroes, with a great number of men, and well provided with small arms; but was so deeply laden that, in rolling, the water ran over her deck and out at her scuppers; indeed she had more the appearance of an ill-contrived floating castle, than of a ship, according to the present fashion of Europe. Thus we had the misfortune, on this forlorn voyage, to meet with the two best equipped and armed private ships at that time in the South Sea. In this action we had not above twenty fire-arms that were of any use, owing to the improvidence of our people at Juan Fernandez; yet were they so impatient of this disappointment, that some of them were for immediately surrendering to the enemy. To prevent this, I ordered four men whom I thought I could trust to take the charge of our two boats; but two of these went away with the best boat, and my

my first lieutenant and Morphew plotted to have gone away with the other, but were hindered by blowing weather, and so weak was my authority that I was forced to dissemble.

Next day we stood into the road of Pisco, where we saw a very fine ship, and resolved immediately to board her; and to our great satisfaction, the captain and his people met us with their hats off, beseeching us to give them quarter. This was a good ship, of about 200 tons, called the Jesu Maria, almost laden with pitch, tar, copper, and plank, but nothing else. The captain offered 16,000 dollars for her ransom, but I could not comply, as the Recovery was disabled in her masts in boarding, and also we had now a vessel in which we could at least enjoy cleanliness, which we had been entire strangers to ever since our departure from Juan Fernandez; wherefore we made all dispatch in getting every thing out of the bark. The Spanish captain of the Jesu Maria informed me, that the Margaretta had arrived some time before at Calao, where she had given a full account of her rencounter with us; her captain and three men having been killed in the action, and a priest with several others wounded. She was now ready to put to sea again to cruize for us, with the addition of ten guns and fifty men. A frigate of twenty-eight guns, called the Flying-fish, was already out with the same intention; and advice had been sent respecting us along the coast, both to the north and south, with orders to equip what strength there was to catch us. All night, the people of Pisco were on the alert, continually firing guns, to give us an earnest of what we were to expect if we attempted to land, but we had no such intention.

Having cleared our bark next morning, we gave her to the Spanish captain of the Jesu Maria; and as soon as the breeze sprung up, we weighed and stood to sea. While going out, we met our own boat with the two men who had deserted us, and who now edged down upon us, imagining we had been Spaniards. The two fellows were almost dead, having neither eat nor drank for three days, and had just been ashore on a small island near the harbour of Pisco, to kill some seals that they might drink their blood. Their only excuse for leaving us was, that they had fallen asleep, during which the breeze had wafted our bark away from them. We had only a transient view of Pisco, which seemed pleasantly situated among orchards and vineyards. We proceeded along the coast very cautiously, knowing that we were almost in the mouths

mouths of our enemies, and that the least act of indiscretion might throw us into their hands. We ventured, however, to look into the roads of Guanchaco, Malabriga, and Cheripe, where we saw no shipping, after which we passed through between the island of *Lobos de Tierra* and the continent.

Being near the *Saddle* of Payta on the 25th November, I thought of surprising that place in the night, though our force was much diminished since our last attack; but as it grew calm while we were endeavouring to get into the harbour, we thought it better to delay till morning, as our vessel being Spanish would deceive the inhabitants, and prevent them from suspecting us. In the morning, being observed from the shore making many short trips to gain ground to windward, the Spaniards sent off a large boat full of men to assist in bringing in our ship, and to enquire the news. Seeing them making towards us, I ordered none of our men to appear but such as had dark complexions and wore Spanish dresses, standing ready to answer such questions as they might ask in hailing, and to give them a rope when they clapped us on board. Some of our men also were concealed under our gunwales, with their muskets ready to point into the boat, to command them to make her fast, and this stratagem succeeded. I examined the prisoners as to the condition of the town, which they assured me was then extremely poor, having neither money nor provisions, and shewed me a small bark on shore, lately sent in by Captain Clipperton with some of his prisoners, on the arrival of which every thing of value had been removed into the country. Yet we held on our way with Spanish colours flying, and came to the anchorage.

As soon as we were anchored, I sent Mr Brooks to attack the town with twenty-four men, only those who rowed appearing, and the rest with their arms lying in the bottom of the boats; so that when they landed, they even found the children playing on the beach. These took the alarm immediately, and ran away on seeing our armed men. In an instant the whole place was in confusion, and happy were they who could escape, the town being left destitute, and they were too nimble to be overtaken. Our party ransacked Payta, but found it as poor as our prisoners reported; so that they only found a few bales of coarse cloth, about five hundred-weight of dried dog-fish, two or three pedlars packs, and an inconsiderable quantity of bread and sweetmeats. We had better

better fortune while at anchor, as we took a vessel in which were about fifty jars of Peruvian wine and brandy; her master having come by stealth from Calao, where orders had been given that none but ships of force should venture to sea. My people in the town were in no haste to re-embark, and when it grew dark, some of the Spaniards began to assemble, and learning that there were only eighteen English in the town, came down the hills with great boldness. At first our people took refuge in the largest church, meaning to have defended themselves there; but at length they marched out, formed in a line, and kept beating their drum; and one of them having fired a musket, the Spaniards hastily retreated, and our men embarked without any more alarm.

From Payta we directed our course for the island of Gorgona, in the bay of Panama, and in our passage to that place built a tank or wooden cistern in our vessel, sufficient to contain ten tons of water. In our way we made the island of Plata, Cape St Francisco, Gorgonella, or Little Gorgona, and on the 2d of December arrived at the island of Gorgona. We had here the advantage of being able to fill our water-casks in the boat, the water running in small streams from the rocks into the sea, and we cut our wood for fuel close to high-water mark; so that in less than forty-eight hours we completed our business, and hurried away for fear of those vessels which we understood had been sent in search of us. Having got out of the track of the enemy's ships, we consulted as to the properest manner of proceeding, when the majority were for going directly for India. Upon this we changed the name of our vessel, from the Jesu Maria to the Happy-Return, and used our best endeavours to get off from the coast of America. The winds and currents were however contrary, and some of our people who were adverse to this plan did some secret damage to our tank, so that the greatest part of our water leaked out. Owing to this, and our provisions being much exhausted by long delays from contrary winds or dead calms, we were incapable of attempting so long a run: Wherefore, on purpose to procure what we wanted, I proposed making a descent on Realejo, on the coast of Mexico, in 11° 50′ [12° 28′ N.] In our way thither, we fell in with Cape Burica, in 8° 20′ [*exactly* 8° N.] and then, on second thoughts, I judged it might be safer to make an attempt on the island of Quibo, in lat. 7° 30′ N. where, according to the account given by Captain Rogers, I guessed there

there were inhabitants, who lived plentifully on the produce of their island.

On the 31st January, 1721, we entered the channel between the islands of *Quibo* and *Quivetta*, in lat. 7° 18′ N. in twenty fathoms water, and anchored opposite a sandy bay, which promised to afford convenience for wooding and watering. Sending our boat to view the bay, my people reported that there was a good close harbour a little to the south, but no signs of inhabitants, except three or four huts by the shore, which they supposed had formerly been used by pearl-fishers, as there were great quantities of mother-of-pearl-shells scattered about these huts. On attentive consideration, I resolved not to shut up our vessel in a close harbour, for fear of bad consequences, and remained therefore at anchor in the open channel. At day-break next morning, we saw two large boats under Spanish colours, rowing in for Quivetta, which gave me some apprehensions they had some intelligence of us, and intended an attack. The mulattoes on the coast of Mexico are remarkable for their courage, and have sometimes done very bold actions, even in such paltry vessels as these we now saw: These, however, steered into a small cove on the island of Quivetta, which satisfied us they had no intentions to attack us. I now sent Mr Brooks in our yawl to attack them, when he found them all ashore, and brought away their piraguas with two prisoners, a negro and a mulatto, the rest taking refuge in the woods. We took all their provisions, consisting of a small quantity of pork, with plantains, some green, some ripe, and some dried. Of this last there was a considerable quantity, which, on being pounded, made a pleasant-tasted flour, indifferently white, and supplied us with bread for a month. The mulatto mortified us greatly by telling us that a vessel laden with provisions had passed near us in the night, but promised to bring us to a place where we might supply ourselves without hazard, provided we were not above two or three days about it, wherefore we made all possible dispatch in getting in our wood and water.

We weighed from this place on the 16th January, steering for *Mariato*, being the westermost point of the gulf of St Martin. In going out from the channel of Quibo, we were in imminent danger of being forced by the current upon two rocks at a small distance from each other, off the northern point of Quivetta; but having cleared them, we steered

steered through *Canal bueno*, or the good channel, so called from its safety, being free from rocks or shoals. Over against the south entrance of these straits, at the distance of a league from point Mariato, is the island of Cebaco, in my opinion about ten leagues in circumference. I ran along the south end of that island, and in the evening of the 19th got safe in between it and point Mariato, and anchored in six fathoms, over against a green field, being the only clear spot thereabout. Our pilot advised us to land about three hours before day, when we should be in good time for the plantations. Accordingly, I went at two in the morning in our own boat, the two lieutenants being in the two piraguas, and left my son with a few hands to take care of the ship. Our pilot carried us a little way up the river of St Martin, and out of that through several branches or narrow creeks, among groves of trees, so close that we had not room to row. Not approving of this navigation, I kept a watchful eye on our guide, suspecting he had no good design in his head. We landed just at day-break, in a fine plain, or savannah; and, after a march of three miles, came to two farm-houses, whence the inhabitants made their escape, except the wife and children belonging to one of them. We had the satisfaction of seeing that this place answered the description given by our guide, being surrounded by numerous flocks of black cattle, with plenty of hogs, and fowls of several sorts, together with some dried beef, plantains, and maize; and, in the mean time, we had a breakfast of hot cakes and milk.

When it was broad day, I saw our ship close by us, on which I asked our guide, why he had brought us so far about? when he said there was a river between us and the shore, and he was not sure if it were fordable. I therefore sent some to try, who found it only knee deep, on which, to avoid carrying our plunder so far by land, I ordered our boats to leave the river of St Martin, and to row to the beach over against the ship. We had not been long at the farm-house till the master of the family came to us, bringing several horses with him, and offering to serve us as far as he could. This offer we kindly accepted, and we employed him to carry every thing we thought fit to our boats. He then went among his black cattle, and brought us as many as we thought we could cure, as we had but little salt, and could not afford water to keep them alive at sea, so that we killed them as soon as they came on board. We preserved them by

by cutting their flesh into long slips, about the thickness of one's finger, and then sprinkled them with a small quantity of salt, not using more than four or five pounds to the hundred-weight. After lying two or three hours in the salt, we hung it up to dry in the sun for two or three days, which perfectly cured it, much better than could have been done by any quantity of the best salt.

Having thus procured all we proposed at this place, we departed from thence next morning, having our decks full of fowls and hogs, among the latter of which was one having its navel on its back.[2] The Spaniards say that this animal, although but small even at its full growth, is a terrible creature to meet wild in the woods. Returning through the *Canal bueno*, we stopt at Quibo to complete our water; and on leaving that island, gave the largest piragua to our two prisoners, to enable those who were on the island of Quivetta to return home. The wine and brandy we had lately taken had the effect of dividing my ship's company into two parties, those who were formerly so firmly united being now inveterate enemies; insomuch, that in one night the ringleaders of both have solicited me to espouse their cause, assuring me that the other party had a design on my life, and urging me to murder those who were of the opposite faction. It is wonderful how this evil was diverted, as I could use no other means than calm advice on both sides, and it was utterly out of my power to hinder them from getting drunk as often as they pleased; in which condition they often fell all to skirmishing with each other, and I had more than once my clothes almost torn off my back in endeavouring to part them. It was happy this trade of drinking did not last long, as, while the liquor lasted, I found it was unsafe to lay my head on my pillow, which almost wearied me out of my life. Their free access to the liquor shortened the term of this miserable folly, by soon expending the baneful cause. The necessities of hunger obliged them to act jointly and vigorously at Mariato; but they soon relapsed again, and were as distracted as ever so long as the liquor lasted. My land

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[2] The Pecary, Tajacu, or Mexican hog, the Sus Tajapin of naturalists, is here meant, which is an indigenous animal of the warmer parts of America, and is found in one of the West India islands. It has no tail, and is particularly distinguished by an open glandular orifice on the hinder part of the back, which discharges a fetid unctuous liquid; and which orifice has been vulgarly mistaken for the navel.—E.

as well as sea-officers were now obliged to learn to steer, and to take their turns at the helm with the seamen, such being the pass to which they had brought themselves by sinking my authority, that they had lost their own, and were even in a worse condition than I; as the crew had, for their own sakes, to have recourse to me on all emergencies, obeying me punctually while these lasted, and abusing me plentifully when these were over.

On the 25th January, we discovered a sail in the morning, about two leagues to leeward, to which we gave chase for some time; but seeing she was Europe-built, and fearing she might be a man of war belonging to the enemy, I hauled on a wind, and in half an hour it fell dead calm. We soon after saw a boat rowing towards us, which proved the pinnace of our consort the Success, commanded by her first lieutenant, Mr Davison. This was a most unexpected meeting to us both, Mr Davison being surprised to find me in such a condition, and I no less so to find the Success in these seas. I gave him an account of our misfortunes, and of all that had befallen us during the long interval of our separation, and he related all the remarkable incidents that had befallen them. A breeze of wind springing up, I bore down upon the Success, and went aboard of her; when I gave Captain Clipperton, and Mr Godfrey, our agent-general, the whole history of my voyage, expecting to have been treated by them as belonging to the same interest, but found them unwilling to have any thing to do with me, now that my ship was lost. I trusted, however, that Captain Clipperton would let me have such necessaries as he could spare, on which he said, I should know more of his mind next day. Among other discourses, he told me that he was just come from the island of *Cocos*, his people very sickly, and on short allowance. I then offered my service to pilot him to Mariato, which was not above thirty leagues distant, where he might have refreshed his company, and supplied his wants; but he was resolved to make the best of his way for the *Tres Marias*, where he said there was plenty of turtle to be had, and so I left him for the night.

Next morning, as I was going again on board the Success with some of my officers, Captain Clipperton spread all his canvass, and crowded away from us. On this I returned to my ship, fired several guns, and made signals of distress, which were not regarded by him, till his officers exclaimed against

against his barbarity, and at last he brought to. When I had again got up with him, I sent Mr Brooks to know the reason of his abrupt departure, and to request the supply of several necessaries, which I was willing to pay for. On these terms, he spared me two of his quarter-deck guns, sixty round shot, some musket-balls and flints, a Spanish chart of the coast of Mexico, with part of China and India, a half-hour glass and half-minute glass, a compass, and about three hundred-weight of salt: But all my arguments could not prevail with him to let me have any thing out of his medicine-chest for Mr Coldsea, who was still very ill of his wound. For what we now had from the Success, we returned some bales of coarse broad-cloth, as much pitch and tar as he would have, and some pigs of copper: I gave him *also* a large silver-ladle for a dozen *spadoes*, or Spanish swords. This being concluded, I offered my services, assuring him I had a pretty good ship, and that our cargo was of some value: To this he answered, if my cargo were gold, he had no business with me, and I must take care of myself. Mr Hendric, our agent, Mr Rainer, and Mr Dodd, our lieutenant of marines, weary of the hard work imposed upon them, desired my leave to go on board the Success, which I consented to, and Captain Clipperton left us to shift for ourselves, being now near the island of Cano.

I was now for returning southwards, to try our fortunes in the bay of Panama, but the majority opposed me through fear, insisting to go to the Tres Marias, to salt turtle at these islands, and then to stretch over for India. We accordingly directed our course that way, but as the wind near the land continued in the west, and the coast of Mexico trended nearly N.W. by W. we crept so slowly to windward, that we began to be very short of provisions before we got the length of Realijo, on which our design of landing there was renewed; but this intention was soon frustrated, as we were blown past that place by a *tequante peque*, for so the Spaniards on this coast call a violent gale at N.E. As we continued our voyage along shore, we again fell in with the Success, then in quest of *Sonsonate*, expecting there to receive the ransom of the Marquis of *Villa Roche*, who had been some time a prisoner on board. We ranged close under her stern, and asked how Captain Clipperton and the rest of the gentlemen did, but received no answer, and the Success steered one way, while we went another. After this, calms, contrary winds, and

and unaccountable currents, so delayed our proceedings, that we were reduced to a very short allowance, which we were forced to diminish daily, and had been reduced to very great distress, had we not from time to time found turtle floating on the surface of the sea, for which we kept a good look-out, being able to discover them even at great distances, by the sea-birds perching on their backs. On sight of these, we were forced often to forego taking advantage of the wind; and, besides often losing some of our way in pursuit of them, they had still a worse effect, as dressing them occasioned a great consumption of our water.

Being now threatened with almost certain perdition if means were not fallen upon to avoid a state of absolute famine, I proposed that we should attempt to plunder some small town as we coasted along shore. At this time *Guotalco* was the nearest port; but, as we were standing in for it, we saw a sail a considerable way to leeward, which we considered more proper for us to endeavour to capture than to venture on shore, for which purpose we bore down upon her, which proved to be the Success. When sufficiently near, I made the private signal formerly concerted between us, but Captain Clipperton hauled his wind, and did not lie by a moment for us to get up with him. We were now so far to leeward of Guatalco, that it was in vain to beat up for that port, especially on an uncertainty. We were now reduced to a small daily allowance of calavances, which not being sufficient to keep us alive, we had recourse to the remainder of our smoked congers which had been neglected for some months, and had been soaking and rotting in the bilge-water, so that they were now as disgusting food as could be. Under these calamitous circumstances, we again met the Success near port *Angels*, in lat. 15° 50′ N. long. 96° 25′ W. Having exchanged signals, we stood so near each other that a biscuit might have been chucked aboard, yet did not exchange a word, as Clipperton had ordered his officers and ship's company to take no notice of us: Yet was Captain Clipperton so sensible of the difficulties and hazards we had to encounter in our design of going for India, that he said the child just born would be grey-haired before we should arrive there. We were now in a most miserable situation, wandering upon an inhospitable coast in want of every thing, and all the land we had seen was so wild and open to the sea, that it would have been impossible for us to have landed

any where, and nothing could have urged us to make the attempt but the extreme want we were now in.

On the 12th March, being off the port of Acapulco towards evening, we saw a ship between us and the shore, which turned out to be the Success, when Clipperton not only answered my private signal, but also that for speaking with me. After his late inhumane behaviour, I would hardly have trusted him, had we not been so near Acapulco, where I thought he meant to cruize for the Manilla ships, and now wished to have our assistance, wherefore I bore down alongside. He now sent his second lieutenant, Captain Cooke, with a very obliging letter to me, stating that he was cruizing for the homeward-bound Manilla ships, and desired me to assist him in the enterprise, with which view he desired me to come on board next morning, to consult on the best plan of attacking her, and proposed an union of the two companies. I was well pleased at this offer, and returned an answer that I should be with him early. I then read his letter to my people, who all expressed their readiness to join in the enterprise; but, as Clipperton had used us so unhandsomely, they desired me to have some security for their shares, signed by Clipperton, Godfrey the agent, and the rest of the officers in the Success.

I went aboard the Success next morning, accompanied by Brooks and Randal, my lieutenants, and was received with much apparent civility, all animosities being forgotten, and we seemed now in the most perfect harmony. I first told Captain Clipperton and Mr Godfrey of the paper expected by my officers and men, entitling them to such shares as were allowed by the original articles, to which they readily consented, and drew up an instrument fully answerable to what my people desired. We then proceeded to our consultation, when it was agreed that I should send most of my people on board the Success as soon as the Manilla ship appeared, leaving only a boat's crew with me to bring me away in case I should have an opportunity to use my vessel as a fire-ship, or *smoker*, in case she should prove too hard for the Success. We also determined to board her at once, as otherwise we should have much the worst of the contest, owing to her superior weight of metal, and her better ability to bear a cannonade. Clipperton assured me he was certain of the time this ship was to sail from Acapulco, being always within a day or two after Passion-week, of which time a fort-

night

night was yet to come. Before returning to my own ship, I informed Captain Clipperton of our scarcity of water, when he told me he had eighty tons, and would spare me as much as I wanted, or any thing else his ship afforded. I had now the pleasure of enjoying my command as fully as ever, and my whole remaining crew, from the highest to the lowest, expressed their satisfaction at our present prospects. Morphew, the ringleader of all our disorders, fearing my resentment might fall heavily on him, contrived to insinuate himself into the favour of the captain and officers of the Success, by a submissive deportment, and presents, and, in the end, left me on the 14th March, being received on board that ship. On the 15th, Mr Rainer came on board my ship, to visit his old ship-mates, and staid all night. I constantly reminded Clipperton of our want of water, and he as often promised to supply us with a large quantity at once.

We thus continued to cruize in good order, and with great hopes, till the 27th March, when I had to suffer the most prodigious piece of treachery that could be imagined. We used to cruize off and on, at a convenient distance from the shore, so as not to be discovered from the land, yet so that it was impossible for any ship to leave the port of Acapulco without being seen by us. As my ship did not sail so well as the Success, Clipperton used to shorten sail, particularly at night, and shewed us lights on all necessary occasions. Towards evening of that day, he stretched about two leagues a-head of us, and I could not see that he lowered even a top-gallant-sail for us to come up with him. I kept standing after him however, till almost a-shore on the breakers, when I had to tack and stand out to sea. Next morning no ship was to be seen, which reduced us to the most terrible apprehensions, considering our sad situation for want of water, and our vast distance from any place where we could expect to procure any, as we had now no other choice but either to beat up 220 leagues to the *Tres Marias*, or to bear away for the gulf of Amapala, at a much greater distance. I was afterwards informed, by some of Clipperton's officers, whom I met with in China, that he had done this cruel action absolutely against the repeated remonstrances of his officers, who abhorred such an act of barbarity. I also learnt afterwards, by some Spaniards from Manilla, that the Acapulco ship sailed about a week after we desisted from cruizing for her. This ship

ship was the *Santo Christo*, carrying upwards of forty brass guns, and was exceedingly rich.

In the sad situation we were now reduced to, every thing was to be hazarded, and any experiment tried that promised the smallest chance of success. We continued our course therefore, under terrible inconveniences, distressed for water and provisions, and weak in point of number; yet so far from being united by our common danger, that our people could not be restrained within the bounds of common civility. The winds and weather being favourable, we found ourselves before the port of *Sansonate*[3] on the 30th March, about sun-set, when we discovered a ship of good size at anchor in the harbour. Being a fine moonlight evening, I sent my first lieutenant in the yawl, with some of our best hands, to see what she was. Soon afterwards we heard some guns fired, and on the return of the lieutenant, he reported that she was a stout ship, having at least one tier of guns. Little regarding her apparent strength, or our own weakness, as we thought our necessities made us a match for her, we continued plying in all night, and prepared to engage her. At sun-rise the land-breeze blew so fresh from the shore, that we worked in but slowly; and in the mean time we received all their fire on every board we made, but without returning a single shot. Their boat also was employed in bringing off soldiers from the shore, to reinforce their ship; and they hung up a jar of about ten gallons of powder, with a match, at each main and fore-yard-arm, and at the bowsprit end, to let fall on our deck, in case we boarded them, which contrivance, if it had taken effect, would have made an end of both ships, and all that were in them. Seeing them so desperate in their preparations, I could not but expect a warm reception; but as our case would not admit of delay, at ever so hazardous a rate, we were not to be dismayed. About eleven in the forenoon the sea-breeze set in, and, to make our small force as available as might be, I ordered all our three guns to be placed on that side from which we were likely to engage. As the sea-breeze freshened we ran fast towards them, during which our small arms were effectually employed to break their powder-jars before we should board them, which we

[3] The port of Acazualte, at the mouth of the river Sansonate, in the province of that name.—E.

we did without delay, and they submitted after exchanging a few shots.

This ship was named the *Sacra Familia*, of 300 tons, six guns, and seventy men, having a great many small arms, shot, and hand-granades. She had arrived some time before from Calao, with wine and brandy; but had now nothing on board except fifty jars of gunpowder, a small quantity of rusk, and some jerked beef, so that she was hardly worth the risk and trouble of capture. But as she had the character of sailing better, and was much better fitted than our ship, I resolved to exchange ships, and we all went aboard the prize, which had been fitted out in warlike manner, and commissioned, for the express purpose of taking us, if we chanced to fall in her way. To do justice to my people, our small arms were handled with much dexterity on this occasion; but, having been chiefly directed at the powder-jars, the only person killed on board the prize was the boatswain, and one person slightly wounded; while on our side no damage was sustained. A merchant, made prisoner at this time, seemed inclined to purchase the *Jesu Maria*, which we had quitted; and hearing her cargo consisted of pitch, tar, and copper, he consented to my demands, and went ashore to raise the sum agreed upon. We had so few provisions, that we could not afford to keep any prisoners, and therefore dismissed all the whites, Indians, and others, except some negroes, whom we detained to assist in working the ship: and, that we might lose as little time as possible, we set immediately to work, overhauling our sails and rigging, that we might get our new ship ready for sea.

While thus employed, I received a letter from the governor of the place, which none of us could understand; but learnt by the messenger, that it intimated some account of a truce concluded between the crowns of Britain and Spain, and that the governor requested me to stay five days, that he might satisfy me by shewing me the articles of accommodation. I thought this odd, telling the Spanish gentleman I had not met with a friendly or peaceable reception; asking him why they had thus armed themselves in so desperate a manner, and why the governor had not rather sent me a flag of truce in the morning before we engaged, giving me this intimation? Saying also, if this story were true, we ought to have found the alleged intelligence on board the prize, as she came from Lima, whence they pretended the news came. It was likewise

likewise extraordinary, that none of the officers in the prize should know any thing of the matter: yet I had so great a regard for even the name of peace, that I would wait fifteen days, if the governor would supply us with provisions and water, otherwise I would not consent to stay twenty-four hours. I sent also a short answer to the governor, excusing our imperfect knowledge of the Spanish language. In this letter I stated, if peace were actually concluded between our sovereigns, that I was ready to act as he desired, on due proof; and hoped, as we were now friends, that he would allow us to have refreshments from his port. On receipt of this, the governor expressed great satisfaction, and seemed to make no difficulty in complying with my request. Our boats went therefore ashore every morning, under a flag of truce, and we received for the first four days eight small jars of water daily. On the fifth day they reduced us to five jars, and during the whole time only one small cow was sent us.

On this occasion a boat came off full of men, among whom were two priests, who brought with them a paper in Spanish, which they called the articles of peace; but so wretchedly written and blotted, that we should have been puzzled to read it, had it even been in English. I therefore desired the priests to translate it into Latin, which they promised to do, and took the paper with them. They also told me, that the governor meant to send for some Englishmen who lived at Guatimala, if I would continue three days longer in the road; to which I answered, that he might take his own time. Two days after, on our boat going ashore as usual, the governor ordered her and her crew to be seized. I was all day in suspence, not imagining the governor would make such a breach of the law of nations; but in the evening two of the boat's crew came off in an old leaky canoe, bringing a letter from the governor, and another from Mr Brooks, my first lieutenant, who was one of the prisoners. The governor required me to deliver up the *Sacra Familia*, and that we should all surrender, otherwise he would declare us pirates; and Mr Brooks told me he believed the governor meant to bully me. The governor proposed two ways for conveying us from the Spanish dominions, one of which was by Vera Cruz overland, and the other by sea to Lima. But I liked neither of these, not chusing a journey of 1300 miles at least through a country inhabited by a barbarous people, nor yet a voyage to Lima under their guidance. My two men told me, that Frederick

Frederick Mackenzie had let the governor into the secret of our necessities, and of my design of procuring water at the island of Tigers, in the gulf of Amapala, which he said he would take care to prevent, and believed he now had us safe enough, knowing our only boat remaining was a small canoe. My two men who brought these letters offering their service, and a third volunteering to accompany them, to bale out the water from their wretched canoe, I sent a letter in French to the governor, offering, if I could be assured of a safe conduct for ourselves and effects to Panama, and thence by way of Portobello to one of the British colonies, we would enter into a farther treaty, which he might signify, if he meant to comply, by firing two guns, and by sending off my people with the usual supply; otherwise necessity would compel us to sail that night. Receiving no reply whatever, I weighed before day next morning, and made sail, leaving the Jesu Maria behind, a much more valuable ship than the one I took away.

On going to sea, we reduced ourselves to a pint of water in the twenty-four hours, and directed our course for the gulf of Amapala, about thirty-five leagues S.S.E.[4] meaning to water there on the island of Tigers. The loss of my officer and boat's crew sensibly diminished the number of white faces among us, and so lessened our strength, that we should never have been able to manage this great ship, with her heavy cotton sails, but for our negro prisoners, who proved to be very good sailors. The loss of our boat was a great inconvenience to us; but as I meant only to provide water enough to serve us to Panama, where we were determined to surrender ourselves, if it were really peace, I thought we might contrive to get such a quantity of water as might suffice, in two or three days, by means of our canoe. The winds being favourable, we reached the gulf in ten days, but we could find no water, after an anxious and hazardous search. Surrounded on all sides with the most discouraging difficulties, we weighed anchor again on the 13th of April, when I brought our people to a resolution not to surrender on any account, let the consequence be what it might. We had not now forty gallons of water in the ship, and no other liquids, when we came to an allowance of half a pint each for twenty-four hours, even this being too large, considering we could get

[4] About forty-two marine leagues E.S.E.

get none nearer than the island of Quibo, which was about 160 leagues from the gulf of Amapala, and we were forty-three in number, including our negroes.

We accordingly steered for Quibo, having very uncertain winds and variable weather, and were thirteen days on this short allowance. No one who has not experienced it can conceive our sufferings in this sultry climate, by the perpetual extremity of thirst, which would not permit us to eat an ounce of victuals in a day. We even drank our urine, which moistened our mouths indeed, but excited our thirst the more. Some even drank large draughts of sea-water, which had like to have killed them.[5] On the 25th April we came to the island of *Cano*, in lat. 8° 47′ N. which, by the verdure, promised to yield us water, if our canoe could get on shore. In this hope we came to anchor off the north-west side of this island, when it was as much as we could do to hand our sails, stop our cable, and execute the other necessary labours, so greatly were we reduced. We imagined we could see a run of water, yet dreaded the dangerous surf which broke all round those parts of the island we could see. Mr Randal was sent with some jars, to try what could be done; and as he did not appear again when very late at night, I became apprehensive he was either lost, or, not finding water on the island, had gone in search of it to the continent. At length he came back, with his jars filled, and any one may guess our unspeakable joy on being thus opportunely delivered from the jaws of death. He did not bring above sixty or seventy gallons, and I was at great pains to restrain my men from using it immoderately, allowing only a quart to be distributed immediately to each man. What made me the more strict on this occasion was, that Mr Randal assured me we should hardly get any more, the breakers were so very dangerous. That very night we chanced to have a shower of rain, on which we used every expedient for catching it, in sheets, blankets, and sails. During our long thirst we had continually wished for rainy weather, and had often good reason to expect it, by seeing many louring black clouds, which seemed every minute ready to discharge their burdens, yet never did before to any purpose. Next day I sent our boatswain

[5] It may not be improper to state, that in such extremity for want of water, great relief has been experienced by remaining immersed for some time in the sea; the lymphatics of the skin absorbing water to supply and relieve the system very materially.—E.

boatswain to make another essay; but after going round the whole island, and wasting the entire day in search of a smooth beach, he could not see a single spot where he might venture on shore. Thinking we had a sufficient stock to carry us to Quibo, we weighed next day; and while ranging near the island, we saw a smooth beach, on which I sent our canoe again, which brought back nine jars full of water.

We now pursued our course to the S.E. and arrived in a few days at Quibo, anchoring at the same place where we had been formerly. We pursued our business of wooding and watering at this island with tolerable chearfulness, yet without any great hurry; chiefly because we were now within eighty leagues of Panama, and it was requisite for us to deliberate very seriously on our scheme of surrendering to the Spaniards. We considered Panama as well calculated for treating on this subject, not being any way strong towards the sea; and as we had a good ship, we thought it no difficult matter to settle the terms of our surrender, before giving ourselves into their hands. We also reckoned on some assistance from the factors of the South Sea company, resident there, who, in case a peace were actually concluded in Europe, might intercede for us, and procure us a passage for Europe. Yet as there was something extremely disagreeable in the idea of a surrender, especially to such enemies as the Spaniards, we were in no great hurry, particularly as we were here somewhat at our ease, enjoying many conveniences to which we had long been strangers. The free use we made of the excellent fruits growing on this island brought the flux among us, which weakened us very much, and interrupted our work for some days, yet in the main did us little hurt, or rather tended to preserve us from the scurvy. We deliberated and consulted as to our future conduct; but our views were so discordant, and our minds so distracted, that we could come to no resolution, except that of continuing here, in hopes of something happening to our advantage.

The island of *Quibo* or *Coibo* is almost in the same parallel with Panama,[6] being about twenty-four English miles from N. to S. and twelve from E. to W. It is of moderate height, covered all over with inaccessible woods, always green; and,

[6] This is a material error. Panama is in lat. 9° N. long. 80° 21′ W. while the centre of Quibo is in lat. 7° 28′ N. and long. 82° 17′ W. from Greenwich.—E.

and, though never inhabited, abounds with papaws and limes, and some other fruits I never saw before, which are nearly as good, though wholly neglected, as those that are most carefully attended to in other islands in similar latitudes, whence it may be inferred that the soil is fertile; and, if ever inhabited and cleared, it promises to be as productive as the best of our West-India islands. The pearl-fishers, not being able to follow their occupation during the *vandevals*, or black stormy months, from the beginning of June to the end of November, have a few scattered huts in several parts of this island and of *Quivetta*, used by the divers during their season, in which they sleep and open their oysters, so that the sandy beach is covered with fine mother-of-pearl shells. In wading only to the middle, we could reach large pearl oysters with our hands, which at first pleased us much; but we found them as tough as leather, and quite unpalatable. Having no seyne, I can say little about other kinds of fish. We occasionally observed a large kind of flat fish, which often sprung a great way out of the water, which are said to be very destructive to the divers; for, when these return to the surface, unless they take great care, these fish wrap themselves round the divers, and hold them fast till drowned. To guard against this, the divers always carry a sharp-pointed knife, and on seeing any of these fish above them, present the point over their heads, and stick it into the fish's belly. They are also subject to great danger from alligators, which swarm in this part of the sea; and some of us fancied we saw one swimming below the surface near Mariato Point, only a few leagues from hence. This island has a great variety of birds, also great numbers of black monkeys and guanoes, which last mostly frequent the streams of fresh water. Some of these guanoes are of extraordinary size, being of a grey colour with black streaks, those about the head being brown. Quibo is a most convenient place for procuring wood and water, as the wood grows in abundance within twenty yards of the sea, and there are several streams of fresh water crossing the beach.

Having got clear of this place, and nothing thought of but our speedy return to Europe by surrendering at Panama, we met with stong adverse currents, together with calms and contrary winds, by which we were detained for several days under the mountains of *Guanacko*.[7] On the 15th May, a small

[7] Perhaps the Sierra de Canataqua are here meant, which pervade the

small bark bore down upon us, mistaking us for Spaniards. She was called the Holy Sacrament, and came last from Cheriqui, laden with dried beef, pork, and live hogs. Her master was much surprised at first, but soon recovered on being told we were bound for Panama, and readily offered to pilot us thither, as he was bound for that port; and begged us to take his bark in tow, as he could not fetch the land, and his hogs were almost dead for want of water, while his vessel was ready to sink, being so leaky that his people were no longer able to stand to the pumps. I took her in tow, sending some of my people to assist in pumping the bark, and even spared some water and maize for supplying the hogs. The master came on board of my ship, but had heard no news of any peace or truce between Britain and Spain.

It may seem strange that this opportunity of supplying ourselves with provisions made no change in our plans; but every one of us was so worn out by a continual want of all necessaries, and so disheartened by a perpetual succession of misfortunes, that we were tired of the sea, and willing to embrace any opportunity of getting ashore, almost at any rate. I was rejoiced at this bark having fallen into our hands; because, if we found the story of the governor of Sansonate false, we might be thoroughly enabled to go to India, with this help. To ascertain this, I meant to anchor a great way short of Panama, keeping possession of the bark, in case the president might not agree to safe and honourable terms, when we still had it in our power to redress ourselves, by keeping out of his hands. All this while, however, we had not determined who should be the bearer of the flag of truce; for my people, after so much treachery among them, feared that the messenger might only make terms for himself with the governor, and not return again: Wherefore, my son was chosen as the fittest person for the purpose, as being sure of his return, for my sake.

On the 17th another bark came down upon us, but after coming pretty near, sheared off; on which I sent Mr Randal in our canoe, to inform them of our design, but they hoisted Spanish colours on his approach, and fired at him. Next morning we looked into the bay, where we found this bark

country between Montijo Bay and the Bay of Panama, ending in Point Mariato, off which they seem to have been detained.—E.

bark at anchor, but she renewed her fire on our approach. On this, at his own request, I sent the master of the Holy Sacrament in a canoe, with four negroes and a flag of truce, to inform the people in the other bark of our intentions. A gale of wind interrupted this plan, and forced the canoe on shore, I dare say without danger to their lives, as they seemed to land of choice. On the 19th we saw a sail ahead of us standing along shore, on which we let go the bark we had in tow, in which were four of our own people and five Spaniards, spreading all the sail we could, so that by night we were at a considerable distance from the bark. I was for lying-to all night, for the bark to come up, but the majority insisted we should crowd sail all night, so that by day-break of the 20th we were within less than gun-shot of the chase. I immediately hoisted our colours, fired a gun to leeward, and sent a man to wave a white flag on our poop, in token of truce: But they continually fired at us, having their decks full of men, who kept hallooing and abusing us with the grossest epithets. Still I made no return, till I came close on their quarter, and then sent one of their countrymen to our boltsprit-end, to inform them we were bound for Panama, and wished to treat with them peaceably: But the only reply they made was by continuing their fire, calling us *borachos* and *peros Ingleses*, drunkards and English dogs; so that at length I thought it full time to begin with them. I therefore met them with the helm, and soon convinced them of their error, giving them so warm a reception that they soon sheered off. We just missed catching hold of them, and as it fell calm, we continued to engage her for two or three hours at the distance of musket-shot. A breeze at length sprung up, when we neared them, and their courage subsided in proportion as we approached. Their captain still encouraged them to fight, bravely exposing himself in an open manner, till he was at length shot through the body, and dropt down dead; on which they immediately called out for quarter, and thus ended the dispute.

We now commanded them to hoist out their launch; but they answered, that their tackle and rigging were so shattered that they could not possibly comply; wherefore I sent Mr Randall and two or three more in our canoe, who found all her people most submissively asking mercy. Mr Randall sent the most considerable of the prisoners on board my ship, who informed me their vessel was *La Conception de Recova*,

Receva, belonging to Calao, but last from Guanchaco, of 200 tons burden, laden with flour, loaves of sugar, boxes of marmalade, and jars of preserved peaches, grapes, limes, and such like. She mounted six guns, and carried above seventy men, being one of the ships that had been fitted out and commissioned purposely to take us; so that she was the second of these armed merchantmen we had taken. In this engagement, the Spanish captain and one negro were killed, and one or two slightly wounded; but their masts, sails, and rigging were much shattered. On our part, the gunner only was slightly wounded, and a small piece was carried out of the side of our main-mast. We had now above eighty prisoners of all sorts, and not exceeding twenty-six of ourselves. When the Spanish gentlemen came on board, they would not give me time to ask the reason of not hearkening to our peaceable offers; but immediately laid the whole blame on their dead captain, Don Joseph Desorio, who vowed he would listen to no terms but his own, and was resolved to take us by force. There were several persons of note among our prisoners, particularly Don Baltazzar de Abarca, Conde de la Rosa, an European nobleman, who had been governor of Pisco on the coast of Peru, and was now on his return for Spain; also a Captain Morell, who had been formerly taken by Captain Rogers; and several others. We treated them all with the utmost civility, at which they wondered; because, from prejudice against our cruizers, and conviction of their own harsh behaviour towards their prisoners, they expected to have been dealt with very roughly.

In the situation where we now lay, we were in the track of all the ships bound for Panama, not above thirty miles from that place, our numbers being very few, and even part of our crew sick. For these reasons we were as expeditious as possible in examining the contents of our new prize, and removing them into our own ship; and, though the far greater part of the work was done by our prisoners, it took us full two days. Owing to this, and to faint winds and calms, we did not rejoin our bark till the 22d. As we bore down towards her, and came pretty near, we were astonished to see her broach to and fall off again, though all her sails were set; and, what amazed us still more, we could not see any person on her deck. I sent the boat on board, and the officer immediately called out to me, that there was not a man on board, but that all her decks and quarters were covered

vered with blood. By this melancholy appearance, it seemed evident that the Spaniards had overpowered and murdered my four men who were sent to assist them, doubtless taking the opportunity of my men being asleep: Yet it is probable the murderers lost their own lives; for, being four leagues from land, and having no boat, they probably jumped into the sea on the re-appearance of our ship, thinking to swim to land, and met the death they so justly merited.

This tragical affair spoiled the satisfaction we had enjoyed for two days past, on account of our prize, and raised an universal melancholy among us. On seeing this sudden change, our prisoners became much alarmed, looking at each other, as if fearful we might revenge on them the fate of our unhappy companions: And, on my side, I became alarmed lest their dreadful apprehensions might stir them up to some desperate attempt, they being eighty in number, while we were not at this time above seventeen on board, and when altogether only twenty-five that could stand on our legs. I was therefore compelled to appear somewhat stern, in ordering all our prisoners into the stern gallery, except the nobleman and a few of the chiefs, while we kept a strict guard in the great cabin. The Spanish gentlemen lamented the murder of our men, and their own hard fate, in having been in some measure witnesses, and let fall some expressions, by which I perceived they were afraid I meant to shew some severities to their people on this occasion. Having a good interpreter between us, I assured them I was not of any such revengeful disposition, and besides, that the laws of my country would restrain me, if I were, as I acted by my king's commission, whose orders strictly forbid all acts of inhumanity or oppression towards our prisoners; on which assurance they might rest satisfied of their safety. In reply to this, they begged me to think myself secure, as to themselves and countrymen, now my prisoners, declaring on their honour that they would make no attempt against us, and that they could never make a sufficient return for the generous treatment I had given them. Notwithstanding this declaration, I took measures to secure our numerous prisoners of the meaner sort; for which purpose, after taking out of the Holy Sacrament all her jerked beef that remained fit for use, I placed them in that vessel, under the command of Espina, former commander of the Conception after the death of Desorio.

Next

Next day, being as willing to get rid of them, as they were to get back their own ship, I took every thing out of the Conception that could be of use to us, sufficient for twelve months provisions of bread, flour, sugar, and sweetmeats, both for ourselves and the Success, which we expected to meet with at the Tres Marias. I took also away her launch and negroes, the latter to assist us in working our ship, not having sufficient strength to manage her in the long run before us of 175 degrees. I then delivered up the Conception to Espina and the rest, after being three days in our possession; which was not only an act of generosity to our prisoners, but an act of prudence with regard to ourselves. The next great point to be managed, was to get our people to consent to sail so far north as California, previous to our intended voyage to the East Indies, for which we were not in so good a condition as we could wish, though much better than before, and even than we had any reason to have expected, every thing considered. We had a good ship, with fifteen guns and sufficient ammunition, together with a reasonable quantity of provisions; but we still wanted to complete our wood and water for so long a voyage, the procuring of which was necessarily our first care. The ship's company were for going to Quibo for this purpose, as nearest us, but that place was attended by two important inconveniences. The first was the danger of the road, as the stormy season was coming on, and we were but indifferently provided with ground tackle, which must expose us to many dangers. The second was, that Quibo was but at a small distance from Panama, and we had reason to fear the Spaniards might send a ship of war from thence in search of us; as we had now no hopes that peace had taken place, and had consequently laid aside all thoughts of surrendering. On these considerations, we plied up to the island of Cano, where we soon did our business, having a good boat.

On our passage to that island, the sweetmeats of all kinds were divided among our messes; and one day a man complained that he had got a box of marmalade into which his knife could not penetrate, and desired therefore to have it changed. On opening it, I found it to contain a cake of virgin

[8] Betagh charges Shelvocke on this occasion, with the concealment of a considerable treasure, taken in the Conception, of which some account will be given at the conclusion of the voyage.—E.

virgin silver, moulded on purpose to fill the box, weighing 200 dollars; and on examining the rest, we found five more of the same kind. These cakes of silver, being very porous, were nearly of the same weight with so much marmalade, and were evidently contrived for the purpose of defrauding the king of Spain of his fifths, which he exacts from all silver procured in the mines of Peru. We doubtless left many such cakes behind in the Conception, so that this contrivance served them both to wrong their king, and to deceive their enemies. A similarly vexatious affair occurred in a prize taken by the Success, in which there was a considerable quantity of *pinas*, or masses of virgin silver, in the form of bricks, artfully plaistered over with clay, and dried in the sun. As the Spaniards in Peru never burn their bricks, Clipperton and his people took these for real bricks, and threw a great number of them overboard as so much rubbish, and did not discover the deception until four or five only remained. Every thing taken in the Conception was divided according to the articles settled at Juan Fernandez, which gave me only six shares, instead of sixty; and the people refused to allow me an hundred pounds, which I had laid out of my own money, for necessary supplies at the island of St Catharines.

I now found myself under many difficulties as to the course we were to pursue, because the company knew well enough that there was no necessity of going farther than the lat. of 13° N. for going to the East Indies. I had therefore to represent the advantage of cleaning and repairing our ship at Porto Seguro, in California, and I had much difficulty to persuade them. I at last brought them to my purpose, when we sailed from Cano northwards. Having inconstant gales and bad weather, we went between seventy and eighty leagues out to sea, in hopes of meeting more settled weather. When at sixty leagues from the land, the winds still continued variable, but at between seventy and eighty, they settled at E.N.E. and N.E. at which distance we continued till in lat. 20° N. not being sensible of any currents in all that distance, and being also entirely out of the way of the frightful ripplings and overfalls of water which we used frequently to meet with nearer the land. These used often to alarm us when becalmed in deep water, hearing a noise as of the fall of water in passing through a bridge, a considerable time before it came up to us, and which afterwards passed us at a very

very great rate. All the effect this had on the ship, was to make her answer the helm wildly, if we had any wind; and when we happened to meet any of these moving waters very near the shore, we could not perceive that we either gained or lost ground, though we sometimes continued in them for a quarter of an hour. I have seen these overfalls to come both from the eastward and the westward. By getting well out to sea, we not only got clear of these inconveniences, but also were out of the way of the *vandevals*, or black season, which had already begun on the coast; for at Cano, and in going there, we felt very hard gusts, with black rolling water, frequent and violent thunder and lightning, and heavy showers of rain.

In this passage we were continually accompanied by vast shoals of fish, as dolphins, bonitas, albicores, and angel-fish. These last are shaped like salmon, and have scales like them, but have tails like dolphins, and nearly resemble them when in the water, appearing in all the beautiful colours displayed by the dolphin. Besides, they are the best for eating of any fish that swim near the surface. We were continually pestered with flocks of the birds called boobies, and their intolerably stinking dung proved an indescribable nuisance, in spite of all the pains that could be taken to clean our decks, yards, and tops. We reached the islands of *Tres Marias* in the beginning of August, but could see no signs of Captain Clipperton having been there. We were also disappointed in our expectation of procuring water; as, after the strictest search we could make in all the three islands, nothing like a spring could be found, though former writers mention their having found water in abundance. After spending three days in our ineffectual search for water in these islands, I thought it best to stand over for the main land of California, as well for procuring what was wanting to our ship, as in hopes of meeting once more with the Success.

END OF VOLUME TENTH.

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